53 a
Rob. Kock.

THE CONQUEST OF *Syria*, *Perſia*, and *Ægypt*, BY THE SARACENS:

CONTAINING

The Lives of *Abubeker*, *Omar* and *Othman*, the immediate Succeſſors of *MAHOMET*.

GIVING

An ACCOUNT of their moſt remarkable Battles, Sieges, *&c.* particularly thoſe of *Aleppo*, *Antioch*, *Damaſcus*, *Alexandria* and *Jeruſalem*.

ILLUSTRATING

The Religion, Rites, Cuſtoms and Manner of Living of that Warlike People.

Collected from the moſt Authentick *Arabick* Authors, eſpecially Manuſcripts, not hitherto publiſh'd in any European Language.

By *SIMON OCKLEY*, M. A. Vicar of *Swaveſey*, in *Cambridgeſhire*.

LONDON, Printed for *R. Knaplock* in St. *Paul's Church-yard*, *J. Sprint* in *Little Britain*, *R. Smith* in *Cornhill*, *B. Lintott* in *Fleetſtreet*, and *J. Round* in *Exchange-Alley*. M DCC VIII.

MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

7 A a

To the Reverend

Dr. *Henry Aldrich*,

Dean of *Christ-Church* in *OXFORD*.

SIR,

IT would have been a great Breach of Good Manners, and a Want of Gratitude in me, not to have return'd this little Book to that Place, whence it took its Rise and Original, I mean *Ox-*

ford, to which we owe that Incomparable Archbiſhop *Laud*, whoſe great Bounty and Munificence has furniſh'd the *Bodleian* Library with a vaſt Number of the Beſt *Oriental* Authors, particularly thoſe I have made uſe of in this Work: To which we owe ſo many learned and eminent Promoters of Eaſtern Learning, and above all the admirable Dr. *Pocock*, to whoſe Labours how much we are indebted, no Tongue can ſufficiently expreſs. Since therefore, upon theſe Accounts, I could do no leſs than ſend it to Your Famous *Univerſity*; To whoſe Hands ſhould I commit it rather than to Yours, Sir, whoſe Dignity, Learning, and Courteſy to all Men, eſpecially Strangers and Scholars, entitle you juſtly to the utmoſt Reſpect and Eſteem.

I had no ſmall Reaſon to hope, Sir, that this Attempt of mine would not be unacceptable to you, from what I heard you ſay, when I was vouchſafed the Honour of your Converſation, about the deplorable Defects in our late Accounts of the *Oriental* Affairs: And what great Pity it was, that the World ſhould be content with Trifling Legendary Relations, and live upon the Gleanings of *Paulus Venetus*, *Jacobus à Vitriaco*, *Poſtellus*, &c. when there is Plenty of Noble and Valuable Authors in our *Repoſitories* of Learning.

It would indeed be matter of Joy to the *Curious*, to ſee *Albochâri*, *Elm Chalecân*, *Meidâm Tabari*, *Mircond*, and other Renown'd *Eaſtern* Writers, correctly printed, and

and take their Places in the Studies of the Learned. It would give an inexpreſſible Delight to Perſons of your comprehenſive Genius, to be better inform'd of the *Circaſſian Mamalukes*, *Jenkîz Kaan*, *Hulácu* and *Tamerlane*, nay even of the *Holy War* it ſelf, in which our *European* Princes were ſo much concern'd. And I perſwade my ſelf, it could not but be a mighty Satisfaction to a Chriſtian Divine, to have the moſt eminent of the Eaſtern *Jews* (who have written in *Arabick*) publiſh'd in a more faſhionable and intelligible Language; to peruſe the Liturgies of theſe Parts of the World, and to be acquainted with the Rites and Cuſtoms of the Chriſtians there; not only the Orthodox, but the *Neſtorians*, *Eutychians*, &c. And it would be agreeable enough to obſerve,

ſerve, that, notwithſtanding their Difference among themſelves, they all concur unanimouſly to condemn our Schiſmaticks.

But I forbear to trouble you, Sir, with a further Enlargement upon theſe Heads; who know theſe Matters too well to ſtand in need of any Information, and upon all Occaſions ſhow your Readineſs to encourage ſuch noble Deſigns. And I ſhall only crave leave to add, That I have preſum'd to preſent you with this Piece of my Labours, as a Token of my ſincere Reſpect for you; there being no need of an Apology to you, for the Imperfections in this Performance, who are known to be a Perſon of ſuch a generous Spirit, that in a thing that is well intended, however un-artfully managed,

ged, your Sagacity is not more quick in discovering a Fault, than your Candour is ready to excuse it.

I am,

SIR,

Your most humble Servant,

Swavesey, *August* 16, 1708.

SIMON OCKLEY.

THE PREFACE.

THE ARABIANS, *a People as little taken Notice of by the Greek and Roman Authors, as could well be ſuppos'd, conſidering their Nearneſs, and the Extent of their Country, have, ſince the time of* Mahomet, *rendred themſelves ſo very conſiderable, both by their Arms and Learning, that the underſtanding their Affairs ſeems no leſs, if not more neceſſary than the being acquainted with the Hiſtory of any People whatſoever, who have flouriſh'd ſince the Declenſion of the Roman Empire: Not only becauſe they have had as great Men, and perform'd as conſiderable Actions, as any other Nation under Heaven; but, what is of more Concern to us Chriſtians, becauſe they were the firſt Ruin of the Eaſtern Church.*

It might reaſonably have been expected, that the Greeks, who bore the greateſt ſhare

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*of that grievous Calamity, and whoſe Vices and Diviſions, 'tis to be fear'd, brought it upon the Chriſtian World, ſhould have taken particular Care to have given a juſt Account of it. Whereas, on the contrary, they have been as jejune and ſparing in this Particular, as any tolerable Hiſtorian could have been ſuppos'd, relating Matters at a much greater diſtance. Not to enumerate a Catalogue of their Defects, I ſhall content my ſelf with producing the Words of an * ingenious Author, who was very well aware of the Imperfections of the Greeks with relation to this Hiſtory, and fully expreſſes the true Senſe of that Matter in theſe Words:* This *(ſays he)* in Subſtance is the Account of thoſe Wars, and the Beginning of the Saracenical Empire, left us by the Grecian Writers of that Age, who are juſtly to be accus'd for their Succinctneſs and Obſcurity, in a Subject that deſerv'd to be more copiouſly handled; for undoubtedly it muſt needs have been various as well as ſurprizing in its Circumſtances, containing no leſs than the ſubduing whole Nations, altering antient Governments, and introducing a new Face of Affairs in the World. *There is nothing more juſt than this Obſervation, and what*

* Continuation of *Eachard's* Roman Hiſtory, Vol. 4. p. 304. at the Year of our Lord 637.

what lame Accounts must we then expect from those who compile Histories of the Saracens *out of the* Byzantine Historians?

I was no sooner convinc'd of this, but, having, by the Study of their Language, fitted my self in some Measure for the Reading their Authors, I had a great Desire to attempt the communicating some Part of this hitherto unknown History to the World; being equally affected with Wonder and Concern, that, considering the Multitude of Learned Men which the last Age produc'd, it should have been so long neglected. But I conceive the Reason of that to have been, because those very few who were Masters of the Arabick Learning have been otherwise employ'd, and spent their Time in paving the way for Posterity, by publishing such Books as were absolutely Necessary in order to the attaining a Competent Skill in that Difficult Language: Others, who have not been sufficiently acquainted with that Nation, have entertain'd too mean an Opinion of them, looking upon them as meer Barbarians, which mistaken Notion of theirs, has hinder'd all further Enquiry concerning them.

As for those Great Men who first restor'd that learned, copious and elegant Language in this last Age to us Europeans; I mean Erpenius, Giggeius, Golius, Sionita, *and*

and our incomparable Dr. Pocock; *it is not to be expreſs'd how much we are indebted to them for their Learned Labours, without which the Arabick Tongue would ſtill have been inacceſſible to us. But ſince there are other Perſons of a quite different Taſt, who, for want of due Information, have conceiv'd a wrong Opinion of the* Arabians; *it will not be amiſs, before we give a particular Account of our preſent Undertaking, to ſpeak ſomething concerning that People.*

Before Mahomet's *time they were Idolaters. They were always a Warlike People, ſeldom being at Peace either with one another or their Neighbours. They were divided into two ſorts; ſome of them living in Towns and Villages, others having no fix'd, ſettled Habitations, liv'd in Tents, and remov'd from one part of the Country to another, according as their Neceſſities compell'd, or Conveniencies invited them. Their chief Excellency conſiſted in Breeding and Managing Horſes, and the Uſe of Bows, Swords and Lances: Their Learning lay wholly in their Poetry, to which their Genius did chiefly incline them.* MAHOMET *and his Succeſſors ſoon rooted out Idolatry, and united thoſe jarring Tribes in the Profeſſion of that new Superſtition,*

ſtition, which he pretended to have receiv'd by Inſpiration from God, deliver'd to him immediately by the Angel Gabriel.

For about 200 Years, little elſe was minded but War, except what concern'd the Interpretation of the Alcoran, and the Sects and Diviſions among themſelves upon that Account, which daily multiplied and increas'd upon them: But there was, as yet, no Curioſity of enquiring into Foreign Learning, nor deſire of being acquainted with the Arts and Sciences. At laſt, in Almamôun's Reign, who was the twenty ſeventh after Mahomet, and was inaugurated Caliph in the * 198 Year of the Hegjrah, Learning began to be cultivated to a very great Degree, Mathematicks eſpecially and Aſtronomy: And in order to promote it, that Noble Caliph ſpar'd no coſt, either to procure ſuch Greek Books as were ſerviceable to that Purpoſe, or to encourage Learned Men to the Study of them. Nor did the Sagacity and Application of that ingenious penetrating People in the leaſt diſappoint the Deſigns of their munificent Benefactor; their Progreſs in Learning, after they had once enter'd upon it, ſeeming no leſs wonderful than that of their Conqueſts; for in a few Years time they had Plenty of Tranſlations out of Greek, not

* A.D. 813

not only Mathematicians and Aſtronomers, but Philoſophers, Botaniſts and Phyſicians. Which Love of Learning was not confin'd to the Eaſtern Parts, but diffus'd throughout the whole Dominions of the Saracens, *being firſt carried into* Africa, *(where they erected a great many Univerſities) and from thence into* Spain: *ſo that when Learning was quite loſt in theſe Weſtern Parts, it was reſtor'd by the Moors, to whom what Philoſophy was underſtood by the Chriſtians was owing. Greek not being underſtood in this Part of the World till the taking of* Conſtantinople *by the* Turks, *which was in the Year of our Lord* 1453. *At which time ſeveral Learned Greeks eſcaping with their Libraries, and coming Weſtward, that Language was reſtor'd: Our former Philoſophers and Schoolmen having contented themſelves with Latin Tranſlations, not only of* Averroes, Alpharabius *and* Algazâli, *and other Mahometan Authors, but alſo of* Ariſtotle *and other Philoſophers, which Tranſlations of Greek Authors were not made out of the Original Greek, but out of the Arabick Verſions which were immediately tranſlated from the Greek.*

Had they, after having taken the Pains to learn the Greek Tongue, with equal Care

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applied themſelves to the Hiſtorians, as they did to the Philoſophers; and ſtudied Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, *and ſuch other Maſters of correct Writing as that Language could have afforded them; we might have expected from them a Succeſſion of Hiſtorians worthy to write thoſe great Actions which have been perform'd among them. But they never turn'd their Thoughts that way, ſtudying Greek only for the ſake of the Sciences, and not valuing either that or any other Language in reſpect of their own. Which, tho it muſt be granted, is extreamly fine and copious, ſo as to afford Words ſufficient to treat handſomly upon any Subject whatſoever, is not ſufficient of it ſelf, any more than any other Language, to make a Man an Author. There being a manifeſt Difference between Language and Stile, inſomuch that a Man may write in the beſt Language in the World, and uſe the moſt proper and ſignificant Words in that Language, and at the ſame time not be fit to be read. For beſides Propriety of Expreſſion, there muſt a Juſtneſs and Exactneſs (not only with reſpect to the Choice of Materials, but to the Compoſition) ſhine through the whole, which is not to be attain'd without being well acquainted with ſuch Authors as are excellent that way.*

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The great Esteem which I have for the Eastern Learning, makes me heartily wish that we had not too much Cause to complain of our Arabick Historians, as to this Particular; who for the aforesaid Reason have depriv'd us of a great deal of the Pleasure, and sometimes Profit, which we might otherwise have expected from the reading them; They not having regard to the due Qualifications of an Historian, but telling things after a careless manner, and stuffing their Works with a great many trifling Materials, at other times jingling upon Words, and to show the Copiousness of their Language, and Variety of Expression, spinning out a slender Matter of Fact into a long Story. So that it is a Work of Difficulty to follow or compile these Authors, which nevertheless deserves very well to be undertaken, and will abundantly recompense the Pains, at least of the Reader.

For in these Authors is contain'd an Account of all the most remarkable Actions done in the East and other Parts for above 1000 *Years. During which space of Time* Asia *and* Africa *have been the Scene of as great Performances as ever they were in the Time of the Roman Empire, to which that of the Saracens was, in many respects, equal. And certainly it is a great deal of*

Pity,

Pity that we have not these things more enquir'd into, especially since they may be so easily come at. Were our Ignorance invincible, it would be excusable, but since so many Noble Benefactors have furnish'd us with such Variety of excellent Authors in this Kind, why should we starve our selves in the midst of Plenty?

It were most heartily to be wish'd, that we had a Compleat History of the Affairs of the East, especially to the Fall of the Saracenical Empire. It would be very well worth observing, how Learning first came in, grew and increas'd among the Saracens; *and what Great Men they have had among them; all which would be very well comprehended in a History of the* Caliphs *or Successors of* Mahomet, *of which I here present the Reader with a* Specimen.

I ought indeed to have begun with the Life of Mahomet, *but that is already written by the Reverend and Learned Dr.* Prideaux, *now Dean of* Norwich; *in which Life, besides what does immediately concern* Mahomet's *Person, there are interspers'd other things Necessary to be known (by any Person that is desirous to be acquainted with the History of the East) which I have not repeated in my Book, but suppos'd to be already known to the Reader: Proceeding to write*

the Lives of the three immediate Succeſſors of Mahomet, *in which the Reader will plainly ſee by what Steps, and from how ſmall Beginnings, that once contemptible People roſe to ſuch a formidable Greatneſs.*

In order to proſecute my Deſign, after I had made ſuch a Draught out of Elmakîn, Abu'lpharagius *and* Eutychius, *as the Scantneſs of my Materials would afford, I was oblig'd to go to the* Bodleian *Library, which is, without queſtion, the beſt furniſh'd with Oriental Manuſcripts of any in* Europe. *For beſides a great Number of the beſt Authors purchas'd by the Univerſity of* Oxford, *out of the Studies of Dr.* Hyde, *Dr.* Huntington, *and Dr.* Pocock, *not to mention Mr.* Samuel Clark's, Gravius's *or* Selden's, *there is an invaluable Collection given by that incomparable Prelate and Martyr of Bleſſed Memory, Arch-biſhop* Laud; *of whoſe great Virtues it would be ſuperfluous to ſay any thing here, they being ſo well known and admir'd by all that know how to ſet a juſt Value upon Learning and Piety.*

But his princely Munificence in being at that prodigious Expence to reſtore Oriental Learning in theſe Northern Climates, both by purchaſing ſuch an excellent Collection of Authors in that kind, and encouraging Men of Abilities to apply themſelves that way, cannot,

*cannot, without the greateſt Ingratitude, be paſs'd by in Silence, by any one that has any due Regard to Oriental Learning. It was among the Manuſcripts of that Reverend Prelate that I found the * beſt Copy of that Author, which I have here endeavour'd to make ſpeak Engliſh, and of whom I am now going to give an Account.*

* MSS. Laud. Num. A. 118.

His Name is Abu Abdo'llah Mohammed Ebn Omar Alwákidi. *At what time he liv'd I have not yet found any Information, nor could I, by the diligent Reading of him, make any Obſervation by which I could give a probable Gueſs. Perhaps the publiſhing an Author without giving an Account of his Age, may ſeem to ſome Readers to require an Apology; but I would deſire ſuch to conſider, that the Caſe is not the ſame in theſe Studies as it is in* Greek *and* Latin: *In which there is ſuch Plenty of excellent Editions of moſt Authors eaſy to be come at; and ſuch Numbers of Criticks, Dictionaries, Chronologers and copious Indexes; that a Man (tho' no great Scholar) that does but know how to make uſe of a Book when he has it, may be almoſt ſure of finding what he looks for. But, alas! the Caſe is vaſtly different here; we have but juſt as it were learn'd the Alphabet, and if we will know almoſt any thing further than the Rudiments*

of the Language, we must look for it in dusty Manuscripts, without Translation, without Index; destitute altogether of those Helps which facilitate other Studies.

However, tho' I cannot precisely fix his Age, it is most certain that he liv'd above two hundred Years after the Matter of Fact which he relates. For Page 313. *he mentions* Almotásem *the* Caliph, *whose Reign began in the Year of our Lord* 833. *and if so, 'tis the same thing as if he had liv'd six hundred Years after. For that Author that lives* 1000 *Years after any Matter of Fact, is as much a Witness of it, as he that lives but at* 200 *Years Distance. They are both of them oblig'd to take upon Trust, and if there be no Loss of good Authors during that Interval; he that writes latest is as credible an Historian as the first.*

Besides, the Particulars relating to the first rise of Kingdoms and Empires are generally obscure. The Reason of which is, because Arms take Place first, and a Government must be well establish'd, before Learning can get room to breath in. Wherefore in these Cases, it is allow'd by all, that those Accounts which have been handed down from time to time, and receiv'd by the best Judges, ought to be look'd upon as Authentick; nor was there ever any Person yet that enquir'd after

after the Age of Livy, *in order to know how far he might be accounted a competent Relator of what was done in the Reigns of* Romulus *and* Numa Pompilius.

In these Cases it is, as that excellent Author very well observes, Famæ rerum ſtandum eſt, ubi certam derogat vetuſtas fidem. *When a long Interval of time has ſet things at too great a Diſtance, we muſt be content with the current Report, and reſt ſatisfied with the beſt Account we can get. However, that Author conſults his own Reputation, and his Readers Satisfaction moſt, who does not without Diſtinction ſet down every thing he meets with, but uſes as much Caution as the Circumſtances of the Matter will admit. Our Author* Alwâkidi *has not been wanting in this Particular. Sometimes he uſhers in a Story after this manner,* I have been inform'd by a credible Perſon. *In another Place he ſays,* "We are in- "form'd by *Moſes Ebn Aſem,* who had "it from *Jonas Ebn Abdo'llâh,* who had "it from his Grand-Father *Abdo'rrahmân Ebn 'Aſlam Arrâbii,* who was in the Wars of *Syria* *. *In that Place where he gives an Account of* Derâr *and ſome others, who were put into Cheſts at* Arreſtân, *he ſays,* "I "was inform'd by *Ahmed Almatîn Aljor- "hami,* who had it from *Rephâa Ebn*

* P. 214.

Kais

Kais Alámiri, who had it from *Saiph Ebn Jabalah Alchátgami*, who had it from *Thabet Ebn Alkamah*, who ſaid he was preſent at the Action. *Theſe Expreſſions, (not to inſinuate that they may afford a Hint to gueſs at the Age of the Author) are moſt evident Proofs that he was as careful as he could, neither to be impos'd upon himſelf, nor to deceive his Reader. And tho' there are a great many ſuch like Expreſſions diſpers'd throughout his whole Work, yet I have not thought fit to intermix them in the Hiſtory, becauſe it is ſuch a different way from what we are us'd to. However, I thought it neceſſary to give a Taſt of it here for the Vindication of my Author. And certain it is, that ſuch things as theſe, nay of leſs Conſideration, were thought a good Defence of* Herodotus *againſt* Plutarch's *Objections, by no leſs a Perſon than the Learned* Harry Stephen.

Alwákidi's *Deſign was not to write the Life of any particular* Caliph, *but to give an Account of the* Conqueſt of Syria. *I ſhould have been very glad if he had given me an Opportunity of comparing him with ſome noble* Greek *or* Latin *Hiſtorian, but his manner of Writing will not allow it. He is chiefly valuable for this, that we find Materials in him which we have no where elſe,*

and

and he is not ſo ſparing of them, but there is Liberty enough to pick and chuſe. How I have ſucceeded in this Performance I muſt ſubmit to the Judgment of the Learned Reader; only taking the Liberty to ſay, that tho I have not tranſcrib'd my Author in every Particular, yet I have done him no Injury in any thing that I have related; nor have I taken a Liberty of Writing careleſly, in hopes of being ſecure from Diſcovery (the Language not being generally underſtood) but have us'd the ſame Diligence as I would have done, were I ſure that every one of my Readers would inſtantly have collated my Book with the Manuſcripts.

The Archbiſhop's Copy which I chiefly us'd is 250 *Years old; being written in the Year of the* Hegjrah 863. *of our Lord* 1458. *There is another Copy of it among* Dr. Pocock's MSS. De Herbelot *ſays there is one in the King of* France *his Library, which are all that I know of in* Europe.

I have, as Occaſion ſerv'd, made ſuch Uſe of other Authors that were for my purpoſe, as the Shortneſs of the Time I could allow my ſelf at Oxford *would permit.* Alwákidi *writ alſo a Hiſtory of the Conqueſt of* Ægypt, *which I have not met with; otherwiſe my Account of that Matter might have been more compleat. All that I can*

ſay

ſay is, that I have done what I could; and if this ſmall Beginning ſhall be a means to excite any Perſon of greater Abilities and more Opportunity, to bring to light any Part of the Eaſtern Hiſtory, I ſhall have Reaſon to think my Time very well ſpent.

S. OCKLEY.

A TABLE of the Months both in the Julian Solar, and the *Arabian* Lunar Year, with the Days collected.

	Roman Months.	*Days of the Months.*	*Days collected.*	*In Biſſextile.*	*Arabian Months.*	*Days of the Months.*	*Days collected.*
1	*January,*	31	31	31	Moharram,	30	30
2	*February,*	28	59	60	Saphar,	29	59
3	*March,*	31	90	91	Rebíyah *the Firſt,*	30	89
4	*April,*	30	120	121	Rebíyah *the Second,*	29	118
5	*May,*	31	151	152	Jomâda *the Firſt,*	30	148
6	*June,*	30	181	182	Jomâda *the Second,*	29	177
7	*July,*	31	212	213	Rejeb,	30	207
8	*Auguſt,*	31	243	244	Shaabân,	29	236
9	*September,*	30	273	274	Ramadân,	30	266
10	*October,*	31	304	305	Sjewâl,	29	295
11	*November,*	30	334	335	Du'lkaadah,	30	325
12	*December,*	31	365	366	Du'lhhegjah,	29	*354

* In that Year which is Intercalated (of which there are 11 in every 30, *viz.* 2, 5, 7, 10, 13, 15, 18, 21, 24, 26, 29.) *Dulhagjah* has 30 Days.

The *Arabian* Year being Lunar, runs through the Solar Year, as the Reader may obſerve in the following Chronological Table. See Dr. *Prideaux*'s Life of *Mahomet*, p. 85.

A Chronological TABLE for 35 Years.

Years of the Julian Period.	Years of Christ, reckoning from the first day of January.	Years of the Hegjrah or Flight of Mahomet, with the Days of the Month on which they begin in the Solar Year.	Grecian Emperors.	Saracenical Caliphs.
5335	622	1. July 16	HERACLIUS. 13	
6	623	2. July 5	14	
7	624	3. Jun. 24	15	
8	625	4. Jun. 13	16	
9	626	5. Jun. 2	17	
5340	627	6. May 23	18	MAHOMET. 1
1	628	7. May 11	19	2
2	629	8. May 1	20	3
3	630	9. April 20	21	4
4	631	10. April 9	22	5
5345	632	11. March 29	23	ABUBEKER. 1
6	633	12. March 18	24	2
7	634	13. March 7	25	OMAR. 1
8	635	14. Feb. 25	26	2
9	636	15. Feb. 14	27	3
5350	637	16. Feb. 3	28	4
1	638	17. Jan. 23	29	5
2	639	18. Jan. 12	30	6
3	640	19. Jan. 2 / 20. Dec. 21	31	7 / 8
4	641	21. Dec. 10	32	9
5355	642	22. Nov. 30	Constantine reigns 4 Months, Heracleonas 6, 1 CONSTANS Son of Constantine.	10
6	643	23. Nov. 19	2	OTHMAN. 1
7	644	24. Nov. 7	3	2
8	645	25. Oct. 28	4	3
9	646	26. Oct. 17	5	4
5360	647	27. Oct. 7	6	5
1	648	28. Sept. 25	7	6
2	649	29. Sept. 14	8	7
3	650	30. Sept. 4	9	8
4	651	31. Aug. 24	10	9
5365	652	32. Aug. 12	11	10
6	653	33. Aug. 2	12	11
7	654	34. July 22	13	12
8	655	35. July 11	14	ALI. 1

A Chronological TABLE for 35 Years.

Remarkable Actions or Accidents.

Y. H.

1 *Mahomet* over-power'd at *Meccah*, flees to *Medinah*. This ſame Year
2 *Ali* marries *Phatemah*, *Mahomet*'s only Daughter. In the Second
3 Year of the *Hegjrah* was the Battle of *Beder*.
4
5

6 *Mahomet* is inaugurated by his Followers, and made Supream in all Matters both Sacred
7 and Civil. The ſame Year there was a Truce made between the *Coraſhites* and *Maho-*
met. In the 7*th* Year *Mahomet* takes *Chaibar*, where *Zeinab* a Jewiſh Young Woman
8 gave him the Poiſon of which he died.
The *Coraſhites* breaking the Truce, *Mahomet* goes againſt them with 10000 Men, and takes
9 *Meccah*.
10 *Moſeilamah* pretends to prophecy. *Mahomet* goes his laſt Pilgrimage to *Meccah*.

11 *Mahomet* dies at *Medinah*, and is buried in *Ayeſha*'s Houſe.
12
13 *DAMASCUS* taken.
14 *Baalbek* taken. *Baſora* and *Cufa* are wall'd by *Omar*'s Command.
15 The great Battle at *Yermouk*.

16 *JERUSALEM* ſurrendred into the Hands of the *Saracens* by *Sophroni-*
us. The *Perſians* are beaten.
17 *Antioch* taken.
18 *Abu Obeidah* dies of the Plague at *Emâus*. *Amrou Ebno'l Aâs* invades *Ægypt*.
19 } *Iſpahan* taken by the *Saracens*.
20 }
21

22

23 *OMAR* is kill'd.
24
25
26

27
28
29
30 (the Hands of the *Saracens*.
31 *Yazdejerd*, the laſt of the *Perſian* Kings is kill'd: All *Perſia* falls into

32
33 About this time the *Saracens* began to complain of *Othman*, who to
34 appeaſe them, put *Mahomet* Son of *Abubeker* into the Lieutenancy of
35 *Ægypt*, inſtead of *Abdo'llah Ebn Saïd*. *Othman* is kill'd, and *Ali*
ſucceeds him.

The Reader is desired before he peruses the Book, to correct the Mistakes either of the Author or Printer, thus:

PAge 1. in the Margin, for *Hegjrah the Second*, read *the Eleventh*. P. 8. in the Margin for *VII*, r. *XVII*. P. 12. l. 2. r. *Zacât*. P. 14. in the Margin, r. Χάλεδ☉. P. 15. l. 5. r. *Choweiled*. P. 17. in the Margin, r. *Abubeker*. P. 43. in the Marginal Note r. *Vertical Point of the Keblah*. P. 62. in the Margin r. *Kobarâo*. P. 74. l. 26. dele *Horse*, because the Arabick word *Phâris* is not always limited to a Horseman, but is sometimes us'd for a Soldier. P. 92. l. 9. r. *Coreishæ*. P. 93. l. 28. r. *Alashtar*. P. 124. l. 22. r. *rallying*. P. 125. r. *Abdo'llâh*. P. 153. in the Margin r. *Anphâl*. P. 206. l. 26. r. 500. P. 207. l. 14. instead of *Salmah* r. *Raphi*. P. 219. l. 15. r. *Cup*. P. 231. l. 26. r. *Tecbîr*. P. 253. l. 15. r. *could not*. P. 280. l. 4. r. *was past*. P. 281. l. 5. r. *Gassân*. P. 292. l. 2. r. *Waámana*. P. 313. l. 15. r. *Ammouriyah*. P. 317. l. 8. dele, *For he was upon his Journey*. P. 333. l. 14. r. *Hasanah*. P. 351. l. 18. r. *decrepit*. P. 357. l. 2. r. *Alexandria*. P. 358. l. 6. r. *Profession*. P. 365. l. 23. r. *Rehearing*. P. 367. l. 10. r. *Cufa*. P. 383. l. 12. r. *Alâshtar*. P. 387. l. 11. r. *Cufa*.

N. B. That in the Arabick Words, *j* Consonant and *ou* are pronounc'd as in *French*.

The *SARACENS* CONQUEST OF *Syria*, *Persia*, and *Ægypt*:

Abubeker, First Caliph after *Mahomet*.

Abubeker.

MAHOMET, the great Impostor, and Founder of the Saracenical Empire, died at *Medinah*, on * Monday the sixth of *June*, in the Year of our Lord Six Hundred and thirty two; being the twenty second Year of the Reign of *Heraclius* the Grecian Emperor. After he was dead, the next care to be taken was for a Successor; and it was indeed very necessary that there should be one provided as soon as might be: for their Government and Religion being both, as yet, very tender, and a great many

Hegjrah II. A. D. 632.

* Elmakin, *chap.* 1.

Abubeker.

of *Mahomet*'s Followers being no great Bigots, as not having yet forgotten their ancient Rites and Cuſtoms, but rather forced to leave them for Fear, than upon any Conviction; Affairs were in ſuch a Poſture as could by no means admit of an *Interregnum*. Wherefore the

† Elmakin. Abu'lpharagius.

† ſame Day that he expired, the Muſlemans met together in order to the Election of a *Caliph* or Succeſſor. In which Aſſembly there had like to have been ſuch a Fray, as might, in all Probability, had not *Omar* and *Abubeker* timely interpoſed, have greatly endangered, if not proved the utter Ruin of this new Religion and Polity. For this falſe Prophet of theirs having left no poſitive Directions concerning a Succeſſor, or at leaſt, they not being known to any but his Wives, who in all Probability might conceal them out of their Partiality in Favour of *Omar*, a hot Diſpute aroſe between the Inhabitants of *Meccah* and *Medinah*: Thoſe of *Meccah* claiming moſt Right in the Prophet, as being his Countrymen and Relations, and having embraced his Religion firſt; and not only ſo, but having accompanied him in his Flight for Religion from *Meccah* to *Medinah*, when he, being perſe-

Abubeker.

perſecuted at *Meccah*, was forced to make his Eſcape with manifeſt Hazard of his Life. They urged that nothing could be of ſo great Uſe to his Perſon and Cauſe, as this Service of theirs, and conſequently none could pretend to have ſo great a Right of naming a Succeſſor as themſelves. The Inhabitants of *Medinah*, with no leſs Vehemency, urged that the Prophet and their Religion were as much beholden to them as to the others, becauſe they had received him in his Flight, and by their Help and Aſſiſtance put him in a Capacity of making Head againſt his powerful Enemies; and that they had as much a Right in the Prophet as any others whatſoever, for protecting him in the time of his Adverſity, and upon that ſcore inſiſted upon the Right of electing a *Caliph*. In ſhort, they came to Daggers drawing, and were juſt upon falling from Words to Blows, when one of the || *Anſars*, or Inhabitants of *Medinah*, a Man ſomething more moderate than the reſt, fearing the Conſequences of this Diſturbance, call'd out in the midſt of the Company, that they would have two Caliphs, that is, each Party one. But *Abubeker* and the reſt of

|| *Arab.* The Helpers, *becauſe they helped* Mahomet *when he fled to* Medinah.

Abubeker.

the *Mohagerins* or Inhabitants of *Meccah*, did by no means approve of ſuch an Accommodation, being deſirous that the whole Government ſhould remain in the Hands of their own Party. Then *Abubeker* ſtepped forth and told them, that he would name two Perſons, and they ſhould chuſe which of them both Parties could agree upon. The one was *Omar*, the other *Abu Obeid*. Upon which Motion the Company was again divided, and the Contention renewed afreſh, one Party ſtill crying out for the one, and the other for the other. At laſt *Omar* being wearied out, and ſeeing no Likelihood of deciding the Matter, was willing to give over, and bad *Abubeker* give him his Hand; which he had no ſooner done, but *Omar* promiſed him Fealty. The reſt all followed his Example, and ſo by the Conſent of both Parties *Abubeker* was at laſt ſaluted Caliph, and acknowledg'd the rightful Succeſſor of their Prophet *Mahomet*, and was now abſolute Judge of all Cauſes both Sacred and Civil. And thus that Difference was at laſt, with much ado, compoſed, which had like to have been fatal to Mahometaniſm. And certainly it was a very great Overſight in *Ma-*

homet

homet not to name a Succeſſor poſitively and publickly all the time of his Sickneſs; which if he had done, his Authority had without queſtion determined the Buſineſs, and prevented that Diſturbance, by which the Religion which he had been planting with ſo much Difficulty and Hazard, had like to have been endanger'd. Abubeker.

* One Author tells us, that *Mahomet*, when he was ſick, commanded ſome that were about him to bid *Ababeker* ſay Prayers publickly in the Congregation: Which Deſire of his to have *Ababeker* officiate in his Place, looks very much as if he deſign'd he ſhould ſucceed him; and was ſo underſtood by his Wives *Ayeſha* and *Haphſah*, who were both preſent when *Mahomet* gave this Order, and endeavour'd what they could to have it revok'd. For as ſoon as *Mahomet* had ſpoken, *Ayeſha* told him, that if *Ababeker* went into his Place (meaning the Pulpit from which he us'd to ſpeak to the People) the Congregation would not be able to hear him for weeping, and deſir'd him to order *Omar* to go up; which he refuſing, *Ayeſha* ſpoke to *Haphſah* to ſecond her. The Importunity of them both

* Ahmed Ebn Mohammed Ebn Abdi Rabbihi, M.S. Ab. Huntington. Num. 554.

Abubeker. put the Prophet into ſuch a violent Paſſion, that he told them they were as bad as *Joſeph*'s Miſtreſs, and commanded them again to ſend *Abubeker*. To which *Haphſah* anſwer'd, *O Apoſtle of God, now thou art ſick, and haſt preferr'd* Abubeker. He anſwer'd, *'Tis not I that have given him the Preference, but God.*

The Conteſt which happen'd immediately after his Deceaſe makes it evident, that theſe Words of his had no Influence in the Election of *Abubeker*, but that it was chiefly owing to *Omar*'s Reſignation. Who notwithſtanding that he was the firſt that propoſed *Abubeker* to the Aſſembly, and own'd him as *Caliph*, did not ſo well approve afterwards of that Choice, which Neceſſity put him upon at that critical Juncture, as appears by what he ſaid: The Contents of which were, * " That he pray'd to " God to avert the ill Conſequences " which it was to be feared would fol- " low upon ſuch an indiſcreet Choice. " That if ever any one ſhould do ſuch " a thing again, he would deſerve " Death; and if any one ſhould ever " ſwear Fealty to another without the " Conſent of the reſt of the Muſlemans, " both

* Abu'lpharagius.

Abubeker.

" both he that took the Government " upon him, and he that swore to him, " ought to be put to Death. These and other such like Expressions were evident Signs of his Dislike; but it being done and past, there was no other Remedy, but to sit down at quiet, and rest himself contented.

Now though the Government was actually settl'd upon *Abubeker*, yet all Parties were not equally satisfy'd; for a great many were of Opinion, that the Right of Succession did belong to *Ali*, the Son of *Abu Taleb*. Upon which account the Mahometans were ever since that time divided; some maintaining that *Abubeker*, and those other two, *Omar* and *Othman*, that came after him, were the rightful and lawful Successors; and others disclaiming their Title altogether as Usurpers, and constantly asserting the Right of *Ali*. Of the former Opinion are the *Turks* at this Day; of the latter, the *Persians*. Which makes such a Difference between those two Nations, that notwithstanding their Agreement in other Points of their Superstition, they do upon this account treat one another as most damnable Hereticks. *Ali* had this to re-

Abubeker.

commend him, that he was *Mahomet*'s Couſin German, and was the * firſt that embrac'd his Religion, except his Wife *Cadijah*, and his Slave *Zeid*, and beſides was *Mahomet*'s Son in Law, having marry'd his Daughter *Phatemah*. *Abubeker* was *Mahomet*'s Father in Law, and was very much reſpected by him, ſo that he gave him the Sirname of *Aſſiddîck*, which ſignifies in *Arabick*, one that is a great Speaker of Truth †, becauſe he reſolutely aſſerted the Truth of that Story which *Mahomet* told of his ‖ going one Night to Heaven. And oftentimes he us'd to expreſs a great deal of Kindneſs for him *. Once as he ſaw him coming towards him, he ſaid to thoſe that were about him: *If any one takes delight in looking upon a Man that has eſcaped from the Fire of Hell, let him look upon* Abubeker. *God, whoſe Name be bleſſed, hath given Man his Choice of this World or that which is with him, and this Servant* (meaning *Abubeker*) *hath choſen that which is with God.* Such Marks of Eſteem as theſe muſt needs procure him a great Reſpect from thoſe who look'd upon *Mahomet* as a Perſon inſpired, and the Apoſtle of God; and did without queſtion facilitate his Pro-

* Elmakin.

† Elmakin.

‖ Alcoran, *Chap.* VII. 1.

* Ibrahim Ebn Mohammed Ebn Dokmâk, M. S. Arab. Laud. Num. 806. 11.

Promotion to the Dignity of *Caliph.* Abubeker.

Ali was not preſent at this Election, and when he heard the News, was not well pleas'd, as hoping that he ſhould have been the Man. *Abubeker* ſent *Omar* to *Phatemah*'s Houſe, where *Ali* and ſome of his Friends were, with Orders to compel them to come in by Force, if they would not do it by fair means. *Omar* was juſt a going to fire the Houſe, and *Phatemah* ask'd him, what he meant? He told her, that he would certainly burn the Houſe down, unleſs they would be content to do as the reſt of the People had done. Upon which *Ali* came forth and went to *Abubeker* and acknowledged his Sovereignty †, tho he did not forget to tell him, that he wondred he would take ſuch a thing without his notice. To which *Abubeker* anſwer'd, that the Exigency of the Matter was ſuch as would by no means admit of Deliberation, becauſe if it had not been done on a ſuddain, 'twas to be fear'd that the Government would have been wrung out of their Hands by the oppoſite Party. And, to make things ſlide the more eaſily, ſeem'd to be deſirous of quitting his Charge and

‖ Iſmael Abu'lpheda Kitàb Almoctáſer phi Achari'lbaſhar. *M. S. Arab. Pocock. Num.* 330.

† Abu'lpharagius.

Abubeker. and reſigning the Government: And ſo goes up into the Pulpit, and there openly before them all deſir'd, that they would give him Leave to reſign and confer that Charge upon ſome more worthy Perſon; but *Ali*, fearing the ill Will of the People, * whoſe Minds he perceiv'd were eſtranged from him, for having already ſtood it out ſo long, and being loath to make any new Diſturbance, utterly refus'd to hear of it, and told him, that they would neither depoſe him themſelves, nor deſire that he ſhould reſign. And thus things were pretty well accommodated, and thoſe of *Medinah*, as well as thoſe of *Meccah*, conſented to own *Abubeker*, as the true and rightful Succeſſor of their Prophet *Mahomet*; only *Ali*, tho he made no ‖ ſtir, look'd upon himſelf as injur'd ‖, and there is a Story told by Tradition, which is reported to have been deliver'd by *Ayeſha*, that *Ali* did not come in till after the Deceaſe of his Wife *Fhatemah*, who liv'd 6 Months after the Death of *Mahomet* her Father.

* Elmakin. *Chap.* 2.

‖ Abu'lpheda.

† Abu'lpharagius. † *Abubeker* being thus fix'd in his new Government, had Work enough to ſecure it; for the *Mahometan* Religion had not as yet taken ſuch deep Root in the Hearts

Abubeker.

Hearts of Men, but that they would very willingly have ſhaken it off again, if they had known how. The *Arabians* therefore, being a People of an unquiet reſtleſs Diſpoſition, would not omit this Opportunity of rebelling, which they thought was fairly offer'd them by the Death of *Mahomet*, but immediately take Arms, and refuſe to pay the uſual Tribute, Tithes and Alms, and to neglect thoſe Rites and Cuſtoms, which had been impos'd upon them by *Mahomet*. *Abubeker*, and thoſe about him at *Medinah*, took the Alarm, and fearing a general Revolt, and expecting no leſs than to be beſet on every Side, began to conſider which way they might beſt provide for the Security of themſelves and their Families. In order to which, they diſpos'd of their Women and Children, and ſuch others as were not able to bear Arms, in the Clefts and Cavities of the Rocks and Mountains, and put themſelves in a Poſture of Defence. In the mean time, *Abubeker* ſends *Caled Ebn Waled*, with an Army of four thouſand and five hundred Men, to ſuppreſs the Rebels, who having routed them in a ſet Battle, brought off a great deal of Plunder, and made Slaves of their Children. The

Abubeker.
*Abu'lpheda.

* The chief amongſt thoſe that refus'd to pay the *Zacàl*, which is that part of a Man's Subſtance, which is conſecrated to God, as Tithes, Alms, and the like, and is ſtrictly enjoyn'd by the Mahometan Law, was *Malec Ebn Noweirah*, a Man that made a conſiderable Figure in thoſe Days, being the chief of an eminent Family among the *Arabs*, and celebrated for his Skill in Poetry, as well as his Manhood and Horſemanſhip. *Abubeker* ſent *Caled* to him, to talk with him about it, *Malec* told him, *that he could ſay his Prayers without paying that.* *Caled* ask'd him, if he did not know that Prayers and Alms muſt go together, and that the one would not be accepted without the other? What! does your Maſter ſay ſo? ſays *Malec*. Then don't you own him for your Maſter? ſaid *Caled*; and ſwore that he had a good Mind to ſtrike his Head off. They diſputed the Matter a while; and, at laſt, *Caled* told him he ſhould die. Did your Maſter ſay ſo? ſays *Malec*. What! again? ſays *Caled*, and reſolv'd upon his Death, tho *Abdo'llah Ebn Amer* and *Kobâdah* interceded for him in vain. When *Malec* ſaw there was no way for him to eſcape, he turn'd

turn'd him about, and look'd upon his Wife, who was a Woman of admirable Beauty, and ſaid, *This Woman has kill'd me. Nay*, ſays *Caled*, *God has kill'd thee, becauſe of thy Apoſtacy from the true Religion. I profeſs the true Religion*, ſays *Malec*, meaning the Mahometan. The Word was no ſooner out of his Mouth, but *Caled* order'd *Derar Ben Alazwar*, a Perſon we ſhall ſee more of hereafter, to ſtrike his Head off. At which *Abubeker* was very much concern'd, and would have put *Caled* to Death, if *Omar* had not interceded for him: And indeed he did out of his great Zeal exceed the Limits of his Commiſſion; for *Mahomet* himſelf would have pardon'd an Apoſtate, provided he had been very well aſſur'd of his Repentance. Abubeker.

Having this Opportunity of mentioning this great Man *Caled*, we muſt not paſs him by, without taking ſome Notice of his Character. He was the beſt General of the Age he liv'd in, and it was to his Courage and Conduct that the Saracens chiefly owe the ſubduing of the Rebels, the Conqueſt of *Syria*, and the Eſtabliſhment of their Religion and Polity. 'Tis to be queſtion'd whether his Love and Tenderneſs

Abubeker.

neſs towards his own Soldiers, or his Hatred and Averſion to the Enemies of the Mahometan Religion, was greateſt; for upon all Occaſions he us'd to give very ſignal Inſtances of both. He was a moſt irreconcileable and implacable Enemy to thoſe who had once embrac'd the Mahometan Religion, and then apoſtatiz'd; nor would he ſpare them, tho ſhewing the greateſt Signs of unfeigned Repentance. His Valour was ſo ſurpriſing, that the *Arabs* call'd him *The Sword of God*; which Sir-name of his was known alſo to his Enemies, and is † mention'd as well by *Greek* as *Arab* Authors. If it did at any time (which was not often) carry him beyond the Bounds of his Conduct, it always brought him off ſafe again. He never, in the greateſt Danger, loſt his wonted Preſence of Mind, but could as well extricate himſelf, and his Men from preſent Difficulties, as prevent future ones.

† Ἐξῆλθεν δὲ εἰς Ἀμερᾶς ὁ Χαλὲδ ὃν λέγουσι μάχαιραν τοῦ Θεοῦ. Theophanes, p. 278. Edit. Pariſ.

By him the Rebels being ſuppreſs'd, the Mahometans were in ſome meaſure eas'd of the Fear they ſtood in before, but there were ſtill more Difficulties behind; for about this time ſeveral, perceiving the Succeſs and Proſperity of

of *Mahomet* and his Followers, set up for Prophets too, in Hopes of the like good Fortune, and making themselves eminent in the World: Such were *Osud Alabbasi* and *Tuleihah Ebn Choweised*, with several others, which quickly came to nothing. But the most considerable of these was *Moseilam*, who had emulated *Mahomet* in his Life-time, and trumpt up a Book in Imitation of the *Alcoran*. He had formerly been with * *Mahomet*, and profess'd himself of his Religion, and might have been Partner with him in his Imposture; but looking upon that to be beneath him, he utterly renounc'd all further Familiarity and Correspondence with him, and was resolv'd to set up for himself, which he did the Year before *Mahomet* died. He had now gather'd together a very considerable Body of Men in *Yemamah*, a Province of *Arabia*, and began to be so formidable, that the Mussemans were under some Apprehensions of his growing Greatness, and did not think it any way consistent with Prudence to neglect him any longer, knowing very well, that as soon as he should be strong enough, they and their Religion would quickly come to nothing. They therefore thought

Abubeker.

* Abu'lpheda.

Abubeker. thought it moſt adviſeable to ſet upon him firſt, and rather hazard the Event of a Battle at the Beginning, than by ſuffering him to go on too long, and gather more Strength, fruſtrate all Manner of Hopes of a Victory. Upon this they move *Abubeker* to ſend ſufficient Forces, under the Conduct of ſome experienc'd Commander, in order to deſtroy him. *Abubeker* forthwith diſpatches *Akramah* and * *Serjil*, with an Army, and Order to march directly towards *Yemamah*. After them he ſends *Caled*, the Scourge of Rebels, Apoſtates and Falſe Prophets, who having join'd Forces with them, they had an Army of † forty thouſand Muſlemans. *Moſeilam*, in the mean time, was not idle, and knowing that his Life and Reputation were now at Stake, prepar'd to give them Battle. The Muſlemans ‖ encamped at a Place call'd *Akreba*; and *Moſeilam*, with his Army, was juſt oppoſite to them. They drew near as faſt as they could, and *Moſeilam* charged the Muſlemans with ſuch Fury, that they were not able to make good their Ground againſt him, but were forced to retire with the Loſs of 1200 Men. The Muſlemans rather provoked than diſ-

* *Or rather*, Serjabil.

† Elmakin.

‖ Abu'lpharagius.

diſcouraged by this Defeat, not long after renewed the Fight, and then began a moſt bloody Battle, *Moſeilam* all the while behaving himſelf courageouſly, was at laſt thruſt thro' with a Javelin, (* the ſame with which *Hamza*, *Mahomet*'s Uncle, was kill'd) by a Slave, a Black. He being dead, the Victory eaſily enclined to the Muſlemans; who having killed the falſe Prophet, and ten thouſand of his Men, and obliged thoſe that were left to turn Mahometans, returned to *Medinah*, the Seat of the *Caliph*, richly laden with the Spoil of their Enemies. Abubelek.

* Abu'lpheda.

This ſame Year, being the firſt of *Abubeker*'s Reign, *Al Ola* was ſent with a conſiderable Army to reduce the Rebels in *Bahrein*, which he did without any great Difficulty, killing a great many of them, and ſeizing their Effects, ſo that a great many of them choſe rather to return to the Mahometan Superſtition, which upon the Death of *Mahomet* they had forſaken, than expoſe themſelves, by obſtinately ſtanding it out, to all the Miſeries and Calamities of War.

'Tis ſtrange and ſurpriſing, to conſider from how mean and contempti-

Abubeker.

ble Beginnings the greateſt things have, by the Providence of God, been raiſed in a ſhort time, of which the Saracenical Empire is a very conſiderable Inſtance; for if we look back about eleven Years, we ſhall find how *Mahomet*, unable to ſupport his Cauſe, routed and oppreſs'd by the powerful Party of the *Koraſhites* at *Meccah*, attended by a very ſmall Number of his deſpairing Followers, fled to *Medinah*, no leſs for the Preſervation of his Life, than his Impoſture: And now, within ſo ſhort a time after, we find the Undertakings of his Succeſſor proſper ſo much beyond Expectation, as to become a Terror to all his Neighbours; and the Saracens in a Capacity, not only of keeping in their own Hands their *Peninſula* of *Arabia*, but of extending their Arms over larger Territories, than ever were ſubject to the *Romans* themſelves. Whilſt they were employed in *Arabia*, they were little regarded by the Grecian Emperor, who now too late felt them pouring in upon him like a Torrent, and driving all before them. The proud *Perſian* too, who ſo very lately had been domineering in *Syria*, and ſacked *Jeruſalem* and *Damaſcus*, muſt be forc'd to

part

Abubeker.

part with his own Dominions, and ſubmit his Neck to the Saracenic Yoke. It may be reaſonably ſuppos'd, that, had the Empire been in the ſame flouriſhing Condition as it had been formerly, they might have been checked at leaſt, if not extinguiſhed: But beſides that the Weſtern Empire had been torn away by the barbarous *Goths*, the Eaſtern part of it had received ſo many Shocks from the *Hunns* on the one ſide, and the *Perſians* on the other, that it was not in a Capacity to ſtop the Violence of ſuch a powerful Invaſion *. In the Emperor *Mauricius* his Time, the Empire paid Tribute to the *Chagân* or King of the *Hunns* †. And after *Phocas* had murder'd his Maſter, ſuch lamentable havock there was among the Soldiers, that when *Heraclius* came not much above ſeven Years after to muſter the Army, there were only two Soldiers left alive, of all thoſe who bore Arms when *Phocas* firſt uſurped the Empire. And tho *Heraclius* was a Prince of admirable Courage and Conduct, and had done what poſſibly could be done to reſtore the Diſcipline of the Army, and had had great Succeſs againſt the Perſians, ſo as to

* Theophylactus Simocatta, Hiſtor. Maurician.

† Theophanes *in the Life of* Heraclius.

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Abubeker had now ſet Affairs at home in pretty good Order. The Apoſtates, which upon the Death of *Mahomet* had revolted to the Idolatry in which they were born and bred up, were reduc'd. The Forces of *Moſeilamah*, the falſe Prophet, were broken to Pieces, and himſelf killed; ſo that there was little or nothing now left to be done in *Arabia*. For tho there were a great many Chriſtian *Arabs*, as particularly the Tribe of *Gaſſân*, yet they were generally employ'd in the *Grecian* Emperor's Service. So that the next Buſineſs the Caliph had to do, was, purſuant to the Tenor of his Religion, to make War upon his Neighbours for the Propagation of the *Truth*, (for ſo they call their Super-

Superstition) and compel them either to become *Mahometans* or * Tributaries †. For their Prophet *Mahomet* had given them a Commission of a very large, nay unlimited Extent, which was to fight till all People were of their Religion. And those Wars which are undertaken upon this account, they call *Holy Wars*, with no less Absurdity than we call that so which was once undertaken against them by the *Europeans*. *Abubeker* therefore sends *Caled* with some Forces into *Irâk* or *Babylonia*; but his greatest Longing was after *Syria*, which being a delicate, pleasant, fruitful Country, and near to *Arabia*, seem'd to lie very conveniently for him ||. After he had fully resolv'd to invade it, he call'd his Friends about him, and made a Speech; in which he set before them the great Success they had been prosper'd with already, and told them that the Prophet [*Mahomet*] had assur'd him before his Decease, that their Religion should make a great Progress, and their Territories be vastly enlarged, and that he had Thoughts himself of invading *Syria*: But since it had pleas'd God to prevent the Prophet's Designs by taking him away, and he was left Successor, he

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* *Alcoran*, Chap IX. 29.

† *See the Alcoran*, Chap. VIII. 40.

|| Photouhho'-lhâm, *i. e. The Conquests of* Syria, *written by* Abu Abdollah Mohammed Ben Omar Alwákidi, M. S. Arab. Laud. Num. A. 118. *And there is another Copy of it among Dr.* Pocock's *MSS.* Num. 326. *But of this Author whatever relates to* Syria *is taken for the most part.*

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he deſired their Advice. They anſwer'd unanimouſly, that they were all at his Service, and ready to obey to the utmoſt of their Power whatever he ſhould be pleas'd to command them. Upon this he ſends circular Letters to the petty Princes of *Arabia Fœlix*, and other *Mahometan* Officers and Præfects, and to the Inhabitants of *Meccah* in particular, to command them to raiſe the utmoſt of their Forces, and with all poſſible ſpeed repair to him at *Medinah*. The Contents of the Letter were as follows.

In the Name of the moſt merciful God.

* *Theſe were* Abubeker's *Sirnames.*

* Abdollah Athik Ebn Abi Kohâpha, *to the reſt of the true Believers. Health and Happineſs, and the Mercy and Bleſſing of God be upon you. I praiſe the moſt high God, and I pray for his Prophet* Mahomet. *This is to acquaint you, that I intend to ſend the true Believers into* Syria, *to take it out of the Hands of the Infidels. And I would have you know, that the fighting for Religion is an Act of Obedience to God.*

He had ſent this Letter out but a few Days, e'er the Meſſenger that carried it returned, and brought him word, that

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that he had not deliver'd his Letter to any one Perſon but what had receiv'd it with great Expreſſions of Satisfaction, and a Readineſs to comply with his Commands. And accordingly in a ſhort time after, a very conſiderable Army, raiſed out of the ſeveral Provinces of *Arabia*, came to wait upon him at *Medinah*, and pitched their Tents round about the City. They waited ſome time, without receiving any Orders from the Caliph. And the Weather was ſo extreamly hot, and the Country ſo barren, that they were very hard put to it for Proviſion both for themſelves and their Horſes. Which made them complain to their Officers, and deſire them to ſpeak to *Abubeker* about it. Upon which one of them made bold to tell him, *You were pleas'd to ſend for us, and we obey'd your Commands with all poſſible ſpeed; and now we are come here we are kept in ſuch a barren Place, that we have nothing to ſubſiſt our Army. Therefore if your Mind be altered, and you have no further Occaſion for us, be pleas'd to diſmiſs us.* The reſt of the Heads of the Tribes ſeconded him. *Abubeker* told them, that he was far from deſigning them any Injury in detaining them

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ſo long, but only he was willing to have his Army as compleat as he could. To which they anſwered, That they had not left a Man behind them that was fit for Service. Then *Abubeker* went with ſome of his Friends to the Top of an Hill, to take a View of the Army, and pray'd to God to endue them with Courage, and aſſiſt them, and not deliver them into the Hands of their Enemies. Afterwards he walked on Foot with them a little way, and the Generals rode. At laſt they told him, that they were aſham'd to ride whilſt he was on Foot. To which he anſwered, *I ſhall find my Account with God for theſe Steps, and you ride for the Service of God.* Meaning, that there was no Difference in that Matter, ſo long as they were all concern'd in the propagating their Religion. Then he took his Leave of them, and directed his Speech to *Yezid Ebn Abi Sophyan*, whom he had appointed General of theſe Forces, after this manner. Yezid, *be ſure you do not oppreſs your own People, nor make them uneaſy, but adviſe with them in all your Affairs, and take Care to do that which is right and juſt, for thoſe that do otherwiſe ſhall not proſper. When you meet with*

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with your Enemies, quit your ſelves like Men, and don't turn your Backs; and if you get the Victory, kill no little Children, nor old People, nor Women. Deſtroy no Palm-Trees, nor burn any Fields of Corn. Cut down no Fruit-Trees, nor do any Miſchief to Cattle, only ſuch as you kill to eat. When you make any Covenant or Article, ſtand to it, and be as good as your Word. As you go on, you will find ſome religious Perſons, that live retired in Monaſteries, who propoſe to themſelves to ſerve God that way: Let them alone, and neither kill them, nor deſtroy their Monaſteries. And you will find another ſort of People that belong to the Synagogue of Satan, who have ſhaven Crowns; be ſure you cleave their Skulls, and give them no Quarter, till they either turn Mahometans or pay Tribute. When he had given them this Charge, he went back to *Medinah*, and the Army marched on towards *Syria*.

The News of this Preparation quickly came to the Ears of the Emperor *Heraclius*, who call'd a Council forthwith, and inveighed againſt the Wickedneſs and Inſincerity of his Subjects, and told them that theſe Judgments were come upon them becauſe they had not lived anſwe-

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rably to the Rules of the Goſpel. He repreſented to them, that whereas in former times, powerful Princes, as the *Turk* and *Perſian*, had not been able to overcome them, they were now inſulted by the *Arabs*, a pitiful, contemptible People. Then he ſent ſome Forces with all poſſible ſpeed, but with ill Succeſs, for their General with twelve hundred of his Men was kill'd upon the ſpot, and the reſt routed, the *Arabs* in that Battle loſing only 120 Men. There were afterwards a great many Skirmiſhes, in which the Chriſtians came off by the worſt. The *Arabs* enriched with Spoil, concluded to make the *Caliph* a Preſent of all they had gotten, as the firſt Fruits of their Expedition; Arms and Ammunition only excepted. So ſoon as *Abubeker* had received the Spoil, he ſent a Letter to the Inhabitants of *Meccah*, and the adjacent Territories, in which he acquainted them with the good Succeſs of his Forces, and call'd upon them not to be behind hand in fighting for the Cauſe of God. The good Succeſs of their Brethren gave them ſuch Encouragement, that they obey'd the Motion with as much Chearfulneſs, as if their being called to war, had

had been nothing elſe but being invited to partake of the Spoil. Whereupon they quickly raiſed an Army, and waited upon *Abubeker* at *Medinah*, who forthwith ordered them to join thoſe Forces which he had before ſent into *Syria*. He had made *Saëd Ebn Caled* General of this Army; but when *Omar* expreſs'd his Diſlike of it, the *Caliph* was in a Streight, being loath to take away *Saëd*'s Commiſſion as ſoon as he had given it him; and on the other hand, not willing to diſoblige *Omar*. In this Difficulty he applies himſelf to *Ayeſha*, (*Mahomet*'s Widow) for whom they had a great Reſpect upon the Account of her near Relation to their Prophet *Mahomet*, and us'd frequently to conſult her after his Deceaſe, ſuppoſing that ſhe being his beſt beloved Wife, might be better acquainted with his Thoughts both of Perſons and Things than any other. When he came to her, ſhe told him, that for *Omar*'s part he meant for the beſt when he gave that Advice, and that ſhe was ſure he did not ſpeak it out of any Hatred or ill Will. Upon this *Abubeker* ſends a Meſſenger to *Saëd*, to remand the Standard, which he very patiently re-

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reſigned, and ſaid, *He cared not who had the Standard; let whoſoever will have it, he was reſolv'd to fight under it for the Propagation of Religion.* So vehement and earneſt were thoſe Men whom God had raiſed up to be a Scourge to the Church, that no Affront whatſoever could diſoblige them ſo far as to make them lay aſide their Reſolutions.

Whilſt the *Caliph* was in doubt how to diſpoſe of this Commiſſion, *Amrou Ebno'l Aás*, a very good Soldier, who afterwards conquered *Ægypt*, went to *Omar*, and deſired him to make uſe of his Intereſt with the *Caliph*, that it might be conferred upon him. But *Omar*, whether out of any Antipathy to his Perſon, or becauſe he thought no Man worthy of a Charge that ſought after it, utterly refus'd to meddle in it. And when *Amrou* perſiſted, and was very inſtant with him, *Omar* bad him *not ſeek for the Superiority and Dominion of this World*; and told him, *That if he was not a Prince to Day, he would be one to Morrow*; meaning in a future State. And now *Amrou* was out of all Hopes of having any Command; when preſently the *Caliph*, of his own accord, made him General of this Army, and bad

bad him, "Take Care to live religi-
"ouſly, and let the enjoying the Pre-
"ſence of God and a future State, be
"the End and Aim of all his Under-
"takings, and look upon himſelf as a
"dying Man, and always have regard
"to the End of things; and remem-
"ber that we muſt in a ſhort time all
"die, and riſe again, and be called to
"an account. He ordered him not to
"go where the other Muſlemans had
"been before him, but march into
"*Paleſtine*. And that he ſhould take
"care to inform himſelf of *Abu Obei-*
"*dah*'s Circumſtances, and aſſiſt him
"what he could. That he ſhould not
"be inquiſitive about Mens private
"Concerns; but take care that his
"Men were diligent in reading the
"*Alcoran*, and not ſuffer them to talk
"about thoſe Things which were done
"in *the Times of Ignorance* (ſo they
"call all the time before *Mahomet*) be-
"cauſe that would be the Occaſion of
"Diſſention among them.

After he had diſmiſs'd *Amrou*, he ſent *Abu Obeidah* into *Syria*, to command all the Forces there, and told him, that there was no need of ſaying any thing new to him, ſince he had

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had heard the Charge he had given to *Amrou*. One of the Grecian Emperor's Generals had the good Fortune to beat the Muſlemans in *Syria*; and *Abu Obeidah*, apprehenſive of the Emperor's Power, durſt not act offenſively. Which as ſoon as the *Caliph* underſtood, he judg'd him unworthy of that Poſt, and recalled *Caled* from *Irâk* to take his Place. *Caled* had performed great Things, conſidering the ſhort time he had been gone. He had taken *Hirah*, (afterwards the Imperial Seat of *Alſeffâh*) and ſeveral other Places, not able to endure a Siege, had ſubmitted to him, and paid Tribute. *Elmakîn* ſays, that this was the firſt Tribute that was ever brought to *Medinah*. He had fought ſeveral Battles in which he never fail'd of Succeſs, and would without doubt have puſhed on his Conqueſt if he had not been recalled. When he came into *Syria*, he took different Meaſures from thoſe which had been uſed before; and the Soldiers found a great deal of Difference between a pious and a warlike General. *Abu Obeidah* was patient, meek and religious; *Caled* courageous and enterprizing.

At

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At that time when he came to the Army, *Abu Obeidah* had ſent *Serjabil* with four thouſand Horſe towards *Boſtra*, a City of *Syria Damaſcena*, and very populous, in which there were at that time twelve thouſand Horſe. It was a great trading Town, which the *Arabs* uſed to frequent much. The Governour's Name was *Romanus*, who, as ſoon as he heard that the *Saracens* were upon their March, went to meet them, and asked *Serjabil* the Reaſon of his Coming, and ſeveral other Queſtions relating to *Mahomet* and his Succeſſor. *Serjabil* told him, that the Reaſon of their Coming was to give them their Choice of becoming Mahometans or Tributaries; and added, that they had taken *Aracah*, *Sachnah*, *Tadmor*, and *Hawrân*, and would not be long before they came to *Boſtra*. The Governour, hearing this melancholy Story, went back, and would have perſwaded the People to have paid Tribute. They utterly refuſed it, and prepared themſelves for a vigorous Defence. *Serjabil* continued his March till he came before *Boſtra*; the Beſieged ſallied out, and gave him Battle. The Prayer which he uſed was this: *O thou Eter-*

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Eternal Being! O thou Creator of Heaven and Earth! O thou who art Great and Munificent! who haſt promiſed us Victory by the Tongue of thy Prophet Mahomet, *and the Conqueſt of* Syria, Irâk, *and* Perſia! *O God confirm our Hopes, and help thoſe who aſſert thy Unity againſt thoſe that deny thee. O God aſſiſt us as thou didſt thy Prophet* Mahomet. *O Lord endue us with Patience, and* † *keep our Feet ſure, and help us againſt the Infidels.* The Chriſtians had the Advantage by much in that Battel, and the Saracens were like to have been beaten off, if *Caled* had not come ſeaſonably to their Relief: But his Arrival turn'd the Fortune of the Day, and the Beſieged were forced to retire into the City. Then *Caled* asked *Serjabil*, what he meant by attacking ſuch a Place as *Boſtra*, which was as it were the Market-Place of *Syria*, *Irâk*, and *Hejàz*, and where there was always ſuch a great Reſort of all ſorts of Perſons, and a great many Officers and Soldiers, with ſuch an handful of Men? *Serjabil* told him, that he did not go of his own Accord, but by *Abu Obeidah*'s Command. *Abu Obeidah*, ſaid *Caled*, *is a very honeſt Man, but underſtands nothing of military Affairs.* Then

† Alcoran III. 141.

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Then *Caled* took Care and refreſhed his Men, and ordered them to reſt, for they were all extreamly fatigu'd, as well thoſe that had marched that Day with him, as thoſe that had fought under *Serjabil*; only he took a freſh Horſe himſelf, and rode about all Night, ſometimes going round the City, and ſometimes round the Camp, for fear the Beſieged ſhould make any Excurſions, eſpecially at ſuch a time as his Men were tired, and out of Order. In the Morning, about break of Day, he came into the Camp, and the Muſlemans aroſe, and, according to their Cuſtom, ſome of them purify'd themſelves with Water; and others, who could not conveniently furniſh themſelves with Water, rubb'd themſelves with Sand, (for that is allowed in Caſe of Neceſſity, and is frequently uſed, eſpecially by ſuch Mahometans as travel in thoſe deſart Countries, where there is great Scarcity of Water) and their General *Caled* ſaid the Morning-Prayer among them, and then they took Horſe immediately, for the Beſieged had ſet open the Gates of the City, and drawn out their Men into the Plain, and taken an Oath to be true to one another, and

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fight it out to the laſt Man; which when *Caled* ſaw, he ſaid, *Theſe Villains come out now, becauſe they know we are weary: Come, let us go on, and the Bleſſing of God go along with us.* Both Armies were ſet in Battle Array, and now *Romanus* the Governour, who thought it the beſt way to ſecure himſelf and his Wealth, tho at the Expence of Honour, Soul, and Conſcience, took an Opportunity to let *Caled* know, that he had more Friends than he was aware of. He rides before the reſt of the Army, and with a loud Voice challenges the Saracen General, who quickly came forth to him; he tells him, that he had for a long time entertain'd a favourable Opinion of the Mahometan Religion, and ſeemed to be very willing to renounce his own, upon Condition, that *Caled* would ſecure him, and what belong'd to him; which he readily promiſed. *Romanus* added, that he had, upon *Serjabil*'s firſt coming to beſiege the Town, adviſ'd the Inhabitants to ſubmit to the Muſſemans, and pay Tribute; but that inſtead of being heard, he had only purchaſed the ill Will of the Citizens by his good Counſel. In ſhort, he ſaid whatever he could think on that might

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might ingratiate himſelf with the Saracen, and proffer'd his Service to go back again, and perſwade the Beſieged to ſurrender *Caled* told him, that it would not be ſafe for him to go back again, without having firſt fought with him, becauſe then it would appear plainly how well they were agreed, which might occaſion ſome Danger to him from his own People: So they agreed to make a Shew of fighting, to colour the Matter the better; and after a while *Romanus*, as being beaten, was to run away. The Armies on both ſides ſaw them together, but no body knew what they ſaid. Immediately this Mock-Combat began, and *Caled* laid on ſo furiouſly, that *Romanus* was in danger of his Life, and ask'd *Caled*, whether that was his way of fighting in jeſt, and if he deſigned to kill him? *Caled* ſmiled, and told him, No, but that it was neceſſary for them to ſhow ſomething of a Fight, to prevent their being ſuſpected. *Romanus* made his Eſcape, and indeed it was high time, for the Saracen had handled him ſo roughly, that whoſoever had ſeen him after the Combat, would have had little Reaſon to have thought he had fought

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in jeſt, for he was bruis'd and wounded in ſeveral Places. As ſoon as he came back, the Citizens asked him, what News? He told them what a braveSoldier *Caled* was, and extolled the Valour and Hardineſs of the Saracens, and deſired them to be ruled and adviſed in time, before it was too late; concluding that it would be altogether in vain to make any Oppoſition. But this enraged the Beſieged, and they asked him, if he could not be content to be a Coward himſelf, but he muſt needs make them ſo too? They would certainly have killed him, if it had not been for fear of the Emperor. However they confined him to his Houſe, and charged him at his Peril not to meddle nor interpoſe in their Affairs, and told him, that if he would not fight, they would. *Romanus*, upon this, went home, diveſted of all Power and Authority, but he ſtill comforted himſelf with the Hopes of being ſecured and exempted from the common Calamity, if the Saracens ſhould take the Town, as he expected they would. The Beſieged having deprived him, ſubſtituted in his Room the General of thoſe Forces, which the Emperor had ſent to their Aſſiſtance, and

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and deſired him to challenge *Caled*, which he did; and when *Caled* was preparing himſelf to go, *Abdo'rrahmân*, the Caliph's Son, a very young Man, but of extraordinary Hopes, begged of him to let him anſwer the Challenge. Having obtained Leave, he mounted his Horſe, and took his Lance, which he handled with admirable Dexterity, and when he came near the Governour, he ſaid, *Come, thou Chriſtian Dog, come on.* Then the Combat began, and after a while the Governour finding himſelf worſted, having a better Horſe than the Saracen, ran away, and made his Eſcape to the Army. *Abdo'rrahmân*, heartily vexed that his Enemy had eſcaped, fell upon the reſt, ſometimes charging upon the Right Hand, ſometimes upon the Left, making way where he went. *Caled* and the reſt of the Officers followed him, and the Battle grew hot between the Saracens and the miſerable Inhabitants of *Boſtra*, who were at their laſt Struggle for their Fortunes, their Liberty, their Religion, and whatſoever was dear to them, and had now ſeen the laſt Day dawn, in which they were ever to call any thing their own, without renouncing their

1 Abubeker. Alwákidi.

Baptiſm. The Saracens fought like Lions, and *Caled* their General ſtill cry'd out, *Alhámlah*, *Alhámlah*, *Aljánnah*, *Aljánnah*; that is, *Fight*, *Fight*, *Paradiſe*, *Paradiſe*. The Town was all in an Uproar, the Bells rung, and the Prieſts and Monks ran about the Streets, making Exclamations, and calling upon God, but all too late; for his afflicting Providence had determin'd to deliver them into the Hands of their Enemies. *Caled* and *Serjabil* (for the Saracens could pray as well as fight, and *England* as well as *Arabia* has had ſome that could do ſo too) ſaid, *O God! theſe vile Wretches pray with idolatrous Expreſſions, and take to themſelves another God beſides thee; but we acknowledge thy Unity, and affirm, that there is no other God but thee alone; help us, we beſeech thee, for the Sake of thy Prophet* Mahomet, *againſt theſe Idolaters.* The Battle continu'd for ſome time; at laſt the poor Chriſtians were forc'd to give way, and leave the Field to the victorious Saracens, who loſt only 230 Men. The Beſieged retired as faſt as they could, and ſhut up the Gates, and ſet up their Banners and Standards, with the Sign of the Croſs upon the Walls, intending

to

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to write ſpeedily to the Grecian Emperor for more Aſſiſtance.

And now we muſt leave the poor Inhabitants of *Boſtra* in their melancholy Circumſtances, and come to the depoſed Governour *Romanus*, who was extreamly well ſatisfy'd with the Succeſs of the *Saracens*, and was now going to act a Maſter-piece of Villainy. The *Saracens* kept Watch in their Camp all Night; and as they went their Rounds, they ſaw a Man come out from the City, with a Camlet-Coat on, wrought with Gold. *Abdo'rrahmân*, who happen'd to be that Night upon the Watch, was the firſt that met him, and ſet his Lance to his Breaſt. *Hold*, ſaid he, *I am* Romanus, *the Governour of* Boſtra; *bring me before* Caled *the General.* Upon this *Abdo'rrahmân* went with him to the General's Tent. As ſoon as *Caled* ſaw him he knew him, and asked him, how he did? *Sir*, ſaid he, *my People have been diſobedient, and mutiny'd, and depoſed me, and confined me to my Houſe, and threatned me with Death if I intermeddled with any of their Affairs. Wherefore, that I may chaſtiſe them according to their Deſerts, I have order'd my Sons and Ser-*

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vants to dig a Hole in the Wall (for his Houſe ſtood upon the Wall of the Town) *and if you pleaſe to ſend ſuch Perſons as you can truſt, I will take care to deliver the Town into your Hands.* Upon this *Caled* immediately diſpatch'd *Abdo'rrahmân* with an Hundred Men, and ordered him, ſo ſoon as he had taken Poſſeſſion, to fall upon the Chriſtians, and open the Gates. *Romanus* conducted them to the Wall, and took them into his Houſe; and after he had given them a Treat, he brought every one of them a Suit of ſuch Cloaths as the Chriſtian Soldiers us'd to wear, and diſguiſed them. Then *Abdo'rrahmân* divided them into four Parts, five and twenty in a Company, and ordered them to go into different Streets of the City, and commanded them, that as ſoon as they heard him, and thoſe that were with him, cry out, * *Alláh Acbar*, they ſhould do ſo too. Then *Abdo'rrahmân* asked *Romanus*, where the Governour was which fought with him, and ran away from him? *Romanus* profered his Service to ſhow him, and away they march'd together to the Caſtle, attended with five and twenty Muſlemans. When they came there, the

* *God is moſt mighty.*

the Governour asked *Romanus*, what he came for? Who anſwer'd, that he had no Buſineſs of his own, but only came to wait upon a Friend of his, that had a great Deſire to ſee him. *Friend of mine!* ſays the Governour; *What Friend? Only your Friend* Abdo'rrahmân, ſaid *Romanus*, *is come to ſend you to Hell.* The unhappy Governour finding himſelf betray'd, endeavoured to make his Eſcape. *Nay, hold*, ſays *Abdo'rrahmân*, *tho you ran away from me once in the Day-time, you muſt not ſerve me ſo again*; and ſtruck him with his Sword, and killed him. As he fell, *Abdo'rrahmân* cry'd out, *Alláh Acbar.* The Saracens which were below hearing it, did ſo too; ſo did thoſe which were diſperſed about the Streets, that there was nothing but *Alláh Acbar* heard round about the City. Then thoſe Saracens which were diſguis'd kill'd the Guards, opened the Gates, and let in *Caled* with his whole Army. The Town being now entirely loſt, the conquering *Saracens* fell upon the Inhabitants, and killed and made Priſoners all they met with; till at laſt the chief Men of the City came out of their Houſes and Churches, and cry'd, *Quarter*,

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ter, Quarter. The General, *Caled*, immediately commanded them to kill no more; for, ſaid he, the Apoſtle of God us'd to ſay, *If any one be killed after he has cried out, Quarter, 'tis none of my Fault.*

Thus was the Condition of *Boſtra* altered on a ſudden, and they which had been before a wealthy and flouriſhing People, were now brought under the Saracenical Yoak, and could enjoy their Chriſtian Profeſſion upon no other Terms than paying Tribute. Some of the Inhabitants asked *Caled* the next Morning, who it was that betray'd the City to him. To which he making no Anſwer, as being unwilling to expoſe the Perſon that had done him ſuch ſignal Service; *Romanus*, the Traytor, with moſt unparallell'd Impudence, ſtarted up himſelf, and ſaid, *O you Enemies of God, and Enemies of his Apoſtle, I did it, deſiring to pleaſe God.* To whom they anſwered, *Are not you one of us? No*, ſaid he, *I have nothing to do with you, either in this World or that which is to come. And I deny him that was crucified, and whoſoever worſhips him. And I chuſe God for my Lord, Mahometaniſm for my Religion, the Temple of* Mec-

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Meccah *for the* * *Place of my Worſhip, the Muſlemans for my Brethren, and* Mahomet *for my Prophet and Apoſtle. And I witneſs that there is but one God, and that he has no Partner, and that* Mahomet *is his Servant and Apoſtle, whom he ſent with Direction into the right Way and the true Religion, that he might exalt it above every Religion, in ſpite of thoſe who join Partners with God.* After he had given ſuch an ample Teſtimony, and made ſo full a Confeſſion of his Faith, *Caled* appointed ſome Men to take Care of his Effects, for he durſt not venture himſelf any longer in *Boſtra*, after having been guilty of ſuch unexampled Villainy.

* Arab. Keblah, *which ſignifies the Place towards which they turn themſelves when they ſay their Prayers. For as the Jews, tho in Captivity, uſed to turn their Faces towards the Temple of* Jeruſalem *when they pray'd; ſo do the Mahometans towards the Temple at* Meccah. *And there are Books in* Arabick *(one of which I have ſeen in the* Bodleian *Library) teaching how to find out the* Zenith, *or Vertical Point, or the* Keblah, *or Temple of* Meccah, *Mathematically: That let a Muſleman be where he will, he may know which way to ſet his Face when he ſays his Prayers.*

Then *Caled* wrote to *Abu Obeidah*, to acquaint him with his Succeſs, and withal to command him, to bring thoſe Forces which he had with him, that they might all march together to the Siege of *Damaſcus*. Then he put a Garriſon of four hundred Horſe into *Boſtra*, and ſent *Abubeker* the News of his

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his Victory, and his Intention to beſiege *Damaſcus*. There were at that time 7000 *Saracens* with *Amrou Ebnòl Aâs* in *Paleſtine*; and with *Abu Obeidah* 37000. Which had been raiſed at ſeveral times out of *Hejaz*, *Yemen*, *Hadramut*, the Sea-Coaſts of *Ammàn*, and the Territories of *Meccah* and *Thayef*. *Caled* had with him only 1500 Horſe, which he brought with him out of *Irâk*. *Heraclius*, the Grecian Emperor, was now at *Antioch*, and being informed what Havock the Saracens had made in his Dominions, thought it time to look about him. He could not endure to think of loſing *Damaſcus*, but ſends a General, which our *Arabick* Author (not exact at all in the Names of the Chriſtians) calls *Calous*, and with him 5000 Men, to defend it. *Calous* came firſt to *Hems*, formerly called *Emeſſa*, being the chief City of the adjacent Territory which is called by the ſame Name. It lies between *Aleppo* and *Damaſcus*, diſtant five Days Journey from each of them; a Place of a moſt healthful and pleaſant Air, compaſſed about with beautiful Gardens and fruitful Orchards, which are plentifully watered

ed by a Rivulet drawn from the River *Orontes*, called by the *Arabian* Geographers, *Alâſi*, which paſſes by the City at the Diſtance of about half a Mile. When he came there, he found the Place very well provided both with Soldiers, Arms, and Ammunition. For the Conqueſts of the Saracens had ſtruck ſuch a Terror into all the Country, that every Place had fortify'd it ſelf as well as poſſible. He ſtay'd a Day and a Night at *Hems*, and paſſed from thence to *Baalbec*. He no ſooner came near that Place, but there came out to meet him a mixed Multitude of Men and Women, with their Hair about their Ears, weeping and wringing their Hands, and making moſt pitiful Lamentation. *Calous* asked them what was the Matter. Matter? ſaid they, Why, the *Arabs* have over-run all the Country, and taken *Aracah*, and *Sachnah*, and *Tadmor*, and *Hawràn*, and *Boſtra*, and are now ſet down before *Damaſcus*. He asked them, what was their General's Name, and how many Men he had? They told him that his Name was *Caled*, and that he had but fifteen hundred Horſe. *Calous*

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lous deſpiſed ſo inconſiderable a Number of Men, and bad the People be of good Chear, and ſwore, that when he came back again he would bring *Caled*'s Head along with him upon the Point of his Spear.

As ſoon as he came to *Damaſcus*, he produced the Emperor's Letter, and told the People, that he expected to have the whole Command of the Town himſelf; and would have had *Izraîl*, the former Governour, ſent out of Town: But the *Damaſcens* did by no means approve of that, for they lik'd their old Governour very well, and would not hear of parting with him in ſuch a time of Extremity, when they had as great Occaſion for Men of Courage, as ever they had ſince they were a People. Upon this they were divided into Factions and Parties, and continu'd wrangling and quarrelling one with another, at that very time when there was the greateſt need of Unity and a right Underſtanding; for now the *Saracens* were expected every Moment. It was not long before they came; the Chriſtians went forth to meet them, and both Armies were drawn up in order of Battle.

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When both were ready to fight, *Caled* called out to *Derar Ebn'ol Azwar*, and ſaid, *Now* Derar *quit thy ſelf like a Man, and follow the Steps of thy Father, and others of thy Countrymen, who have fought for the Cauſe of God. Help forward Religion, and God will help thee.* *Derar* was mounted upon a fine Mare, and *Caled* had no ſooner ſpoken, but he immediately charged the Horſe, and killed four Troopers, and then wheeled off, and fell upon the Foot, and kill'd ſix of them, and never left charging them till he had broken their Ranks, and put them into Diſorder. At laſt they threw Stones at him, and preſſed upon him ſo hard, that he was forced to retire among his own Men, where he received due Thanks. Then *Caled* call'd out to *Abdo'rrahmân*, the Caliph's Son, whom we have mention'd before, who did the like. *Caled* himſelf inſulted the Chriſtians, and gave them reproachful Language, and challeng'd any of them to fight with him. *Izraîl* upon this called to *Calous*, and told him, that it would be very proper for him, who was the Protector of his Country, and whom the Emperor had ſent

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on purpoſe to fight, to anſwer the Challenge: However *Calous* would rather have ſtaid behind, if he had not been in a manner compell'd to go by the Importunity of the People. At laſt, with much ado, he arms himſelf, and goes forwards; and becauſe he had a mind to diſcourſe with his Adverſary, he takes an Interpreter along with him. As they went on together, *Calous* began to ſhake in his Harneſs for Fear of the *Saracen*, and would fain have perſwaded the Interpreter, with large Promiſes, to have taken his Part, if the *Saracen* ſhould fall upon him. The Interpreter begg'd his Pardon, and told him, that as far as Words would go, he was at his Service, but he did not care for Blows; and *therefore*, ſays he, *look to your ſelf, Sir; for my part I will not be concern'd: For if I ſhould meddle, and be knock'd on the Head for my pains, I pray what Good would all your fair Promiſes do me?* When they came to *Caled*, the Interpreter began after this manner; *Sir*, ſaid he, *I'll tell you a Story: There was a Man had a Flock of Sheep, and he put them to a negligent Shepherd, and the wild Beaſts devoured them. Which*

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when the Owner perceived, he turn'd away the Shepherd, and got another, that was a Man of Application and Courage; then when the wild Beaſt came again, the Shepherd kill'd him. Have a care that this does not prove to be your Caſe: You Arabians *were a poor contemptible, vile People, and went about with hungry Bellies, naked and barefoot, and liv'd upon Barly-bread, and what you could ſqueeze out of Dates. Now ſince you are come into our Country, and have fared better, you begin to rebel. But now the Emperor has taken Care to ſend a Man that is a Soldier indeed, and therefore it concerns you to look to your ſelves. And he has brought me along with him to talk with you, out of Compaſſion towards you. Prithee,* ſays Caled, *don't tell me thy Stories; as for what thou ſay'ſt of our Country, 'tis true enough. But you ſhall find that times are well amended with us, and that inſtead of our Barley-Bread and courſe Fare, you twit us withall, we ſhall be Maſters of all your Wealth and good Things; nay, your Perſons, and Wives, and Children too. And as for this ſame great Man thou ſpeakeſt of; what doſt tell me of a great Man for, who have taken* Tadmor, Hawrân *and* Boſtra? *Let him be as great as he will; if*

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he be the Support of your Kingdom, ſo am I of our Religion. *Calous* did not like the Mien and Behaviour of his Adverſary at all, and bad the Interpreter ask him to defer the Combat till the next Day; intending, if he had once made his Eſcape, never to have come ſo near him any more. But the Saracen did not deſign to part with him ſo, but ſaid, that he would not be fool'd, and immediately got between him and the Chriſtian Army, to prevent his running away, and began to lay about him with his Spear moſt vehemently. They both fought bravely for a while; in the mean time the Interpreter perceiving them engaged, mov'd off, and eſcaped to the Chriſtian Camp. At laſt *Calous* grew weary, and began to ſtand altogether upon the defenſive part. The Saracen perceiving that he ſtood upon his Guard, left off puſhing him, and came up cloſe to him, and dextrouſly ſhifting his Spear from his Right Hand to his Left, laid hold on him, and drew him to him, and flung him from his Saddle to the Ground. The Saracens immediately ſhouted out, *Allah Acbar*, which made the whole Camp echo, and the poor Chriſtians trem-

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tremble. *Caled* took Care of his Priſoner, and changed his Horſe, and took a freſh one, which the Governour of *Tadmor* had preſented him with, and went into the Field again. *Derar* deſired him to ſtay behind, *for*, ſays he, *you have tired your ſelf with fighting with this Dog, therefore reſt your ſelf a little, and let me go.* To which *Caled* anſwered, *O* Derar, *we ſhall reſt in the World to come; he that labours to Day, ſhall reſt to Morrow*, and rode forwards. He was but juſt gone, when *Romanus*, the treacherous Governour of *Boſtra*, called him back, and told him, that *Calous* would ſpeak with him; who, even in thoſe calamitous Circumſtances, had not laid aſide his Reſentment. When he came back, *Calous* gave him ſome Account of the Difference which had been between him and *Izraîl* the Governour of *Damaſcus*, and told him, that if he ſhould overcome him, it would be of great Moment, in order to the taking the City; he advis'd him therefore to challenge him, and get him out to ſingle Combat, and kill him if he could. *Caled* told him, that he might be ſure he would not ſpare any Infidel or Idolater.

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Calous being now a Priſoner, his five thouſand Men, which he had brought to the Relief of *Damaſcus*, were very urgent with *Izraîl* to go out, and anſwer *Caled*'s Challenge; which he declined at firſt: But afterwards, when they threaten'd him with Death, if he perſiſted in his Refuſal, he told them, that the Reaſon why he refuſed at firſt, was not becauſe he was afraid, but becauſe he had a Mind to let their Maſter *Calous* try his Valour firſt. Then he armed himſelf, and mounted upon a good Horſe, rode up to the Saracen; who, amongſt other Diſcourſe, asked him his Name? He anſwered, *My Name is* Izrail, (which is the Name of that Angel, whom the Mahometans ſuppoſe to take care of the Souls of Perſons deceaſed.) *Caled* laugh'd, and ſaid, *Well, your Names-Sake* Izraîl *is juſt ready at your Service, to convey your Soul to Hell.* *Izraîl* asked him what he had done with his Priſoner *Calous*? He told him, that he had him bound. *Why did you not kill him?* ſaid *Izraîl.* *Becauſe*, ſaid the Saracen, *I intend to kill you both together.* Then the Combat began, and was managed on both Sides with great Dexterity and Vigor. *Izraîl* behaved himſelf

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himſelf ſo well, that *Caled* admired him. At laſt the Victory inclined to *Caled*; and *Izraîl* finding himſelf over-match'd, and having the better Horſe of the two, turn'd his Back, and rode away. *Caled* purſued him as faſt as he could, but could not overtake him. When *Izraîl* perceived that his Adverſary did not come up, imagining that this Slackneſs of his proceeded from an Unwillingneſs to fight, he reſum'd his Courage, and faced about, in hopes to have taken him Priſoner; which *Caled* perceiving, alighted from his Horſe, and choſe rather to fight on Foot; and as *Izraîl* ruſhed upon him, he ſtruck at the Legs of his Horſe, and brought him down to the Ground, and took him Priſoner. Having now in his Poſſeſſion both the General and the Governour, he asked them, if they were willing to renounce their Chriſtianity, and turn Mahometans? Which they both conſtantly refuſing, were incontinently beheaded. *Caled* having ordered the Heads to be brought to him, took them, and threw them over the Walls into the Town.

There were ſeveral Battles fought before *Damaſcus*, in which the Chriſti-

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ans for the moſt part were beaten. At laſt, when they ſaw that by ſallying out they had many Men killed and taken Priſoners, they determined to ſave the Remainder for the Defence of the Walls, and expoſe themſelves no more to the Hazard of a Field-Fight. Thus they ſhut up themſelves within the Town, and *Caled* pitched his Tents over againſt the Eaſt Gate, and *Abu Obeidah* ſet down before the Gate which they call *Aljábiyah*. The City being thus ſtreightly beſieged, and the Inhabitants not daring to depend altogether upon thoſe Forces which they had at preſent, they reſolved to diſpatch a Meſſenger ſpeedily to the Grecian Emperor *Heraclius*, then at *Antioch*: So they wrote a Letter to him, in which they acquainted him with what had paſs'd, and the Death of *Calous* and *Izraîl*, and what Conqueſts the Saracens had made on that Side of the Country. When they had cloſed the Letter, they delivered it into the Hands of a fit Perſon, and let him down on the Outſide of the Wall in the Night. The Meſſenger managed his Buſineſs ſo well, that he eſcaped the Saracens, who were a People not very negligent in their Watch.

Watch. When he came to *Antioch*, and delivered his Letter, the Emperor was extreamly concerned, and ſent *Werdàn* with an hundred thouſand Men, to relieve *Damaſcus*. Abubeker. Alwâkidi.

Our Author tells us, that *Werdàn* refuſed to accept of this Commiſſion at firſt, as thinking himſelf ſlighted, becauſe the Emperor had not employed him at the Beginning of the War. But I never give much Credit to Authors that ſpeak of things done in foreign Courts, and out of their Knowledge, however worthy of Credit they may be, when they write of things done by their own Countrymen, and give an Account of ſuch Tranſactions, as they may reaſonably be ſuppoſed to have ſufficient Opportunities of informing themſelves about. For this Reaſon I would as little heed an *Arabick* Author, writing about the Affairs of the Chriſtians, as I would a *Greek* or *Latin* one, giving an Account of the *Arabians*; becauſe, in this Caſe, both muſt needs take a great deal upon Truſt, by hear-ſay, and uncertain Reports, and conſequently be impoſed on themſelves, and deceive their Readers. Wherefore I have rather choſen to take this Hiſtory

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out of their own Authors, than depend upon the Chriſtian Writers, who were very little acquainted with the Affairs of the Saracens.

Werdàn, however, undertook the Command of that Army; and after the Emperor and ſome of the Nobility had gone part of the Way with him, and taken their Leave, he marched with all poſſible Speed towards *Damaſcus*; the Emperor having given him particular Charge, to take Care to cut off all Supplies from the Saracen Army, which was with *Caled* and *Abu Obeidah*.

Within a ſhort time after, the Saracens heard that the Emperor's Army was upon their March, near *Ajnadin*. *Caled* immediately goes to *Abu Obeidah*, to adviſe with him what was proper to be done in this Caſe. *Caled* was for having the Siege raiſed, and the Saracens go in a full Body againſt the Grecian Army; and then, if they got the Victory, return to the Siege again: But *Abu Obeidah* told him, that he was by no means of that Opinion, becauſe the Inhabitants of *Damaſcus* were already in a very great Streight, and their going away would only give them an Opportunity of getting freſh Supplies, both

both of Arms and Proviſion, into the Town, and enable them to prolong the Siege: With which Anſwer the General was very well ſatisfied. Abubeker. Alwákidi.

Werdàn's Army was very ſlow upon their March, and the poor beſieged Chriſtians were now in great Diſtreſs. Finding no Aſſiſtance from the Emperor, they propoſed Terms to the General, and would have given him a thouſand Ounces of Gold, and 200 Suits of Silk, upon Condition that he would raiſe the Siege. To which he anſwered, that he would not raiſe the Siege, unleſs they would either become Tributaries or Mahometans: If neither of theſe Conditions pleaſed them, they muſt be content to fight it out. About ſix Weeks after this, the Saracens heard an unuſual Noiſe in the City, great Exclamations and Expreſſions of Joy. They could not imagine what ſhould be the Meaning of it, but in a very ſhort time they were ſatisfied, for their Scouts brought them Word, that the Emperor's Army was at hand. *Caled* again would very willingly have gone to meet them; but *Abu Obeidah* would by no Means conſent that the Siege ſhould be raiſed. At laſt they agreed

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to chooſe ſome very good Soldier, and ſend him with part of their Forces, to give the Emperor's Army Diverſion, that they might not come and diſturb the Siege. The Man that *Caled* pitch'd upon to have the Management of this Expedition, was *Derar Ebn'ol Azwàr*, an excellent Soldier, and moſt mortal Enemy of the Chriſtians, (as indeed all of them were, *Abu Obeidah* only excepted) who accepted of this Poſt very chearfully, and cared not how many or how few Men he had with him, provided he might be employed in ſome glorious Action againſt the Chriſtians. But *Caled* told him, that tho they were obliged to fight for their Religion, yet God had commanded no Man to throw himſelf away, and therefore bad him be content to accept of ſuch Aſſiſtance as he ſhould think fit to ſend along with him; and ordered him, in caſe of great Danger, to retire to the Army. *Derar* immediately prepared to go; and as they were upon their March, the Emperor's vaſt Army drew near. When the Saracens ſaw ſuch a Multitude, they were afraid, and would willingly have retired; but *Derar* ſwore, *That he would not ſtir a Step back without*

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out fighting. And *Raphi Ebn Omeirah* told them, *That it was a common thing for the Muſlemans to rout a great Army with an Handful of Men.* The Armies drew near, and notwithſtanding the vaſt Diſproportion of their Numbers, *Derar* advanc'd, without ſhowing the leaſt Token of Fear or Concern; and when he came up, he always fought moſt where *Werdàn* the General was. And firſt of all he kill'd his Right-hand Man, and then the Standard-bearer. The Standard had in it the Sign of the Croſs; and was richly adorned with precious Stones. As ſoon as *Derar* ſaw it fall, he commanded his *Saracens* to alight, and take it up, whilſt he defended them. Immediately they obey'd, and he in the mean time laid about him ſo furiouſly, that none durſt come within his reach to ſave the Standard. *Werdan*, the Emperor's General, had a Son that was his Father's Lieutenant in *Hems*, who march'd with ten thouſand Men when he heard that his Father was going againſt the Muſlemans; and had the Fortune to join him whilſt the Armies were engag'd. He obſerving *Derar*'s Activity, and what Execution he did amongſt

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mongſt the *Greeks*, watched his Opportunity, and wounded him in the left Arm with a Javelin. *Derar* turned himſelf about, and ſtruck him with his Lance ſo violently, that when he drew it back again, he left the Point of it ſticking in the Bones. Notwithſtanding which he made as vigorous a Defence as could be expected from a Man diſarmed; but the *Greeks* preſſed hard upon him, and with much ado took him Priſoner. When the *Saracens* ſaw their Captain taken Priſoner, they fought as long as they could, in hopes of recovering him, but all in vain: Which diſcourag'd them ſo much, that they had like to have run away. Which *Raphi Ebn Omeirah* perceiving, called out to them with a loud Voice, and ſaid, *What! don't you know, that whoſoever turns his Back upon his Enemies, offends God and his Prophet? And that the Prophet ſaid, that the Gates of Paradiſe ſhould be open to none but ſuch as fought for Religion? Come on! I'll go before you. If your Captain be dead or taken Priſoner, yet your God is alive, and ſees what you do.* With theſe Words he reſtored the Battle. In the mean time News came to *Caled*, that *Derar* was

was taken. Upon which he immediately applies himſelf to *Abu Obeidah*, to know what was beſt to be done. *Abu Obeidah* ſent him word, that he ſhould leave ſome body in his Place, and go himſelf to reſcue *Derar*. Upon this he leaves *Meiſarah Ebn Meſrouk* in his Place, with a thouſand Horſe, and taking a conſiderable Force along with him, went with all poſſible ſpeed to relieve the *Saracens*. When thoſe that were engag'd ſaw the Recruit come up, they fell on like Lions; and *Caled* charged in the thickeſt part of them, where there were moſt Banners and Standards, in hopes of finding *Derar* Priſoner there, but all in vain. At laſt there revolted a Party of them that came with *Werdàn*'s Son from *Hems*, and begg'd of *Caled* Protection and Security for themſelves and their Families. *Caled* told them, *That he would conſider that when he came to* Hems, *and not in this Place.* Then he asked them, if they knew what was become of *Derar?* They told him, that aſſoon as he was taken Priſoner, *Werdàn*, the General, had ſent him with a Guard of an Hundred Horſe Priſoner to *Hems*, in order to make a Preſent of him to

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Heraclius the Emperor. *Caled* was glad to hear it, and immediately diſpatch'd *Raphi Ebn Omeirah* with an hundred Horſe, to retake *Derar*. They made all poſſible haſt, and took the direct Road to *Hems*; at laſt they overtook them, and killed and routed them, and recovered their Friend *Derar*, and haſten'd back to join *Caled*, who by this time had entirely defeated the Grecian Army. They purſu'd them as far as *Wadi'l Hâyat*, and brought off what Plunder, and Horſes, and Arms they could, and returned to the Siege of *Damaſcus*, which had now but little Hopes of holding out long.

The Emperor *Heraclius* not willing to part with *Syria* thus, ſent to *Werdân* again, and gave him the Command of 70000 Men at *Ajnadîn*; and commanded him to go and give the *Saracens* Battle, and raiſe, if poſſible, the Siege of *Damaſcus*. When the News of this Preparation came to *Caled*'s Ears, he went to *Abu Obeidah*, to conſult what was proper to be done; who told him, that he knew that moſt of their * great Men were abſent; and that it would be his beſt

* Arab. Koburao Aſhhab Reſoûl Allah, i. e. *the great Men of the Companions of the Apoſtle of God.*

beſt way to ſend for them as ſoon as he could, that having join'd their Forces, they might in a full Body give the Emperor's Army Battle. *Yezid Ebn Abi Sophyan* was then in *Balka*, a Territory upon the Confines of *Syria*; *Serjabil Ebn Haſanah* in *Paleſtine*; *Meâd* in *Harrân*; *Nomân Ebno'l Mundir* at *Tadmor*; and *Amrou Ebno'l Aâs* in *Irâk*. Upon this *Caled* wrote the following Letter. Abubeker. Alwâkidi.

In the Name of the moſt merciful God.

From Caled Ebno'l Waled *to* Amrou Ebno'l Aâs, *Health and Happineſs. Know that thy Brethren the Muſlemans deſign to march to* Ajnadîn, *where there is an Army conſiſting of* 70000 Greeks, *who purpoſe to come againſt us*, * that they may extinguiſh the Light of God with their Mouths; but God preſerveth his Light in ſpite of the Infidels. *As ſoon therefore as this Letter of mine ſhall come to thy Hands, come with thoſe that are with thee to* Ajnadîn, *where thou ſhalt find us, if it pleaſes the Moſt High God.*

* *Theſe Words are a Text of the* Alcoran. *See* Alcoran, *Chap.* IX. 32. & LXI. 8.

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The like he ſent to the reſt of the Generals, and immediately gave Orders for the whole Army to march with Bag and Baggage. *Caled* himſelf went in the Front, and *Abu Obeidah* brought up the Rear. The *Damaſcens* perceiving the Siege raiſed, and their Enemies upon their March, took Courage, and ventured out upon them with an Army of ſix thouſand Horſe, and ten thouſand Foot; the Horſe under the Command of *Paul*; the Foot, of *Peter*. As ſoon as *Paul* came up, he fell upon *Abu Obeidah*, and kept him employ'd, whilſt *Peter* went to ſeize the Spoil; for all their Baggage, and Wealth, and Women, and Children were in the Rear. *Peter* brought off a good part of it, and ſome of the Women; and taking a Guard both of Horſe and Foot, returned towards *Damaſcus*, leaving his Brother *Paul* with the reſt of the Army to engage the Muſlemans. *Paul* behaved himſelf ſo well, that he beat *Abu Obeidah*, and thoſe that were in the Rear, who now wiſh'd at his Heart that he had taken *Caled*'s Advice, when he would have perſwaded him at firſt to have marched in the Front, and would have brought

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brought up the Rear himſelf. The Women and Children made grievous Lamentation, and all Things went ill on that ſide. Upon this *Saïd Ebn Sabàhh*, being well mounted, rode as hard as he could to the Front of the Army, where *Caled* was, and gave him an Account how Matters went; and deſired him with all poſſible ſpeed to ſuccour *Abu Obeidah*. *Well*, ſaid *Caled*, *God's will be done*; *I would have been in the Rear at firſt, but he would not let me*; *and now you ſee what is come on't.* Immediately he diſpatches *Raphi* with 2000 Horſe, to relieve the Saracens in the Rear, and after him *Kais Ebn Hobeirah* with 2000 more; then *Abdo'rrahmân* with 2000 more; then *Derar Ebno'l Azwàr* with 2000 more; the reſt of the Army he brought up himſelf. When *Raphi*, *Derar*, and *Abdo'rrahmân* came up, the State of the Matter was quite altered; and the Chriſtians which had the better of it before, were beaten down on every ſide, and their Standards and Colours turn'd upſide down. *Derar* purſu'd *Paul* the General, who durſt not encounter him; for he had ſeen how he behav'd himſelf at the Siege of *Damaſcus*, and

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heard how he had fought againſt *Werdan*. *Derar* turn'd himſelf about, and ſaid to *Abu Obeidah*, *Did not I tell you that this* * *Devil would not ſtand me?* and follow'd up cloſely. *Paul* being purſu'd hard, flung himſelf off from his Horſe, and endeavoured to get away on Foot. *Derar* alighted too, and had juſt overtaken him, and was a going to chine him; but he cry'd out, *Hold! for in ſaving me, you ſave your Wives and Children which we have taken.* *Derar* upon this forbore, and took him Priſoner. The Chriſtians were all routed; ſo that of thoſe ſix thouſand Horſe which came out of *Damaſcus*, there eſcaped only one Hundred; as they were afterwards informed when the City was taken.

* Arab. Shaithân, *which is the ſame with the Hebrew Word* Satan.

Among thoſe other Captives which *Peter* had taken, it fortuned that *Caulah*, *Derar*'s Siſter, a brave Virago, and a very beautiful Woman, was one. *Derar* was extreamly concern'd for the Loſs of his Siſter, and made his Complaint to *Caled*: Who bad him be of good cheer; *for*, ſays he, *we have taken their General, and ſome other Priſoners, which we ſhall exchange for our own; and there is no queſtion but we ſhall find them*

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them all at Damaſcus. However, they reſolv'd to go and ſee if they could recover them before they got thither. *Caled*, *Raphi*, *Meiſarah*, and *Derar*, went in ſearch of the Captives; and ordered *Abu Obeidah* to march on ſlowly with the Army. There were among the Women which were taken Priſoners, ſome of the *Hamyarites* (a Tribe ſo called amongſt the *Arabs*) which the *Arabians* ſuppoſe to be deſcended from the ancient *Amalekites*. Theſe Women are uſed to ride on Horſeback, and fight as the *Amazons* did of old. *Peter*, when he had got his Priſoners and Plunder at ſome convenient Diſtance, did not make haſt to convey them to *Damaſcus*, but ſtay'd by the way, being deſirous, if poſſible, to hear of his Brother *Paul*'s Succeſs before he went home. Whilſt they reſted, they took an Account of the Women, and what elſe they had gotten; and *Peter* choſe *Caulah*, *Derar*'s Siſter, for himſelf, and told his Men, that ſhe, and no other ſhould be his, and no bodys elſe. The reſt choſe each of them one as long as they laſted. The Greeks went into their Tents to refreſh themſelves, and in the mean

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time the Women got altogether, and *Caulah* ſaid to them: *What! will you ſuffer your ſelves to be abuſed by theſe Barbarians, and become Hand-maids and Slaves to theſe Idolaters? Where's your Courage? For my part, I'll ſooner die than any of theſe idolatrous Slaves ſhall touch me.* *Opheirah*, who was one of them, told her, that their Patience was not the Effect of Cowardice, but Neceſſity. *For*, ſays ſhe, *we are defenceleſs; we have neither Sword nor Spear, nor Bow, nor any thing elſe.* *But cannot we*, ſays *Caulah*, *take each of us a Tent-pole, and ſtand upon our Guard? Who knows but that it may pleaſe God to give us the Victory, or deliver us by ſome means or other? If not, we ſhall die, and be at reſt, and preſerve the Honour of our Country.* *Opheirah* ſwore ſhe was much in the right of it. They inſtantly reſolv'd upon it, and provided themſelves with Staves, and *Caulah* commanded in chief. *Come*, ſays ſhe, *ſtand round in a Circle, and be ſure you leave no Space between you for any of them to come in and do us a Miſchief. Strike their Spears with your Staves, and break their Swords and their Skulls.* As ſhe ſpoke, ſhe ſtepped forwards one Step, and ſtruck

a Fellow that ſtood within her Reach, and ſhatter'd his Skull. Immediately there was a great Uproar, and the *Greeks* came running out of their Tents to ſee what was the Matter. When they came out, there ſtood the Women all up in Arms. *Peter* called out to *Caulah*, whom he had choſen for his Miſtreſs, *What's the Meaning of this, my Dear? Woe be to thee*, ſaid ſhe, *and to all of you, thou* * *Chriſtian Dog. The Meaning of it is, that we deſign to preſerve our Honour, and to beat your Brains out with theſe Staves: Come, why don't you come to your Sweet-heart now, for which you reſerved your ſelf? It may be you may receive ſomething at her Hands, which may prove worth your while.* *Peter* only laugh'd at her, and ordered his Men to compaſs them round, and not do them any Harm, but only take them Priſoners, and gave them an eſpecial Charge to be careful of his Miſtreſs. They endeavoured to obey his Commands, but with very ill Succeſs; for when any Horſeman came near the Women, they let drive at the Horſes Legs, and if they brought him down, his Rider was ſure to riſe no more. When *Peter* perceived that they were in ear-

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* *Arab.* Ya kelbo'nnaſraniyah.

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neſt, he grew very angry, and alighted from his Horſe, and bad his Men do ſo too, and fall upon them with their Cymitars. The Women ſtood cloſe together, and ſaid one to another, *Come, let us die honourably, rather than live ſcandalouſly.* *Peter* looked with a great deal of Concern upon his Miſtreſs, and when he view'd her Beauty and comely Proportion and Stature, loath to part with her, he came near, and gave her good Words, and would fain have perſwaded her to deſiſt from her Enterprize. He told her, that he was rich and honourable, that he had a great many fine Seats, and the like, which ſhould all be at her Service; and deſired her to take Pity of her ſelf, and not be acceſſary to her own Death. To which ſhe anſwered, *Thou Infidel, Scoundrel, vile Raſcal, why doſt not come a little nearer, that I may beat thy Brains out?* This nettled him to purpoſe; ſo he drew his Sword, and bad his Men fall upon them; and told them, that it would be a very ſcandalous thing to them in all the Neighbourhood of *Syria* and *Arabia*, if they ſhould be beaten by the Women. The Women were juſt now at their laſt Prayers, but they held up bravely;

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bravely; and it happened fortunately, that whilſt they were thus engaged, *Caled* and his Party came up. They wondered what was the Matter when they ſaw the Duſt fly, and the Swords glitter. *Caled* ſent *Raphi* to enquire into the Buſineſs; who rode in great haſt, and came back quickly, and gave him an Account how things ſtood. *Caled* ſaid, he did not at all wonder at it, for the Women of thoſe Tribes were uſed to it. Aſſoon as *Derar* heard the News, he put forward his Horſe in all haſte to go and help the Women. *Softly*, Derar, *ſoftly*, ſaid *Caled*; *not ſo faſt: A Man that goes leiſurely about his Buſineſs, ſhall ſooner gain his Point, than he that goes to work raſhly.* *Derar* anſwered, *I han't Patience, I muſt go and help my Siſter.* Then *Caled* ſet his Men in order, and commanded them, aſſoon as they came up, to encompaſs their Enemies. Aſſoon as *Caulah* ſaw the Saracens appear, ſhe cried out, *Look ye, my Girls, God has ſent us Help now.* When the Greeks ſaw the Saracens draw near, they were in a pitiful Condition, and began to look upon one another very ſorrowfully. *Peter* was now willing to contrive ſome way for his

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own Safety, and called out to the Women, *Heark ye*, ſaid he, *I pity your Condition, for we have Siſters and Mothers, and Wives of our own; therefore I let you go freely for Chriſt's Sake: Wherefore, when your People come up, let them know how civil I have been to you.* Having ſaid thus, he turned towards the Saracens, and ſaw two Horſemen coming apace before the reſt. One of them (*Caled*) was compleatly armed, the other (*Derar*) naked, with a Lance in his Hand, upon a Horſe without a Saddle. As ſoon as *Caulah* ſaw her Brother, ſhe called out, *Come hither Brother, tho God is ſufficient without thy Help.* Then *Peter* called out to her, and ſaid, *Get thee to thy Brother, I give thee to him*, and turn'd away to get off as faſt as he could. She called after him, and ſaid, *This Fickleneſs of yours is not like the Manner of us* Arabians: *Sometimes you are wonderfully fond of me, and expreſs a great deal of Love, and then again you are as cold and indifferent as may be. Away with thee*, ſays he, *I am not ſo fond of thee now as I was before. Well*, ſays ſhe, *I am fond of you, and muſt have you by all Means.* Then ſhe ran up to him, and *Caled* and *Derar*

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rar were juſt at hand. Aſſoon as *Peter* ſaw *Derar*, he called out to him, and ſaid, *There's your Siſter, take her, and much good may ſhe do you; I make a Preſent of her to you.* *Derar* anſwered, *I thank you, Sir, I accept of your kind Preſent; but I have nothing to return you in lieu of it, but only the Point of this Spear, therefore be pleaſed to accept of it.* At the ſame time, *Caulah* ſtruck the Legs of his Horſe, and brought him down. *Derar* took him as he fell, and ſtruck him through and through, and cut off his Head, and put it upon his Lance. Then all the Saracens fell on, and fought till they had killed 3000 Men. The reſt ran away, and the Saracens purſued them to the Gates of *Damaſcus*, and returned enriched with Plunder, Horſes and Armour. *Caled* now thought it high time to return to *Abu Obeidah*, fearing that *Werdàn* ſhould have fallen upon him. They marched forthwith, and as ſoon as the Army ſaw *Caled* and his Company, they ſhouted out an *Allàh Acbar*, and *Caled* anſwered them again. When they came up to the Army, they gave them a particular Account of their whole Adventure, eſpecially the Battle of the Women, with which

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which they made themſelves very merry. Then *Caled* called for *Paul*, who was taken Priſoner before, and bad him turn Mahometan, or elſe he would ſerve him as he had done his Brother. *What's that?* ſaid *Paul*. *Why*, ſays *Caled*, *I have killed him, and here is his Head.* When he ſaw the Head he wept, and ſaid, that he did not deſire to ſurvive him: Upon which *Caled* commanded him to be beheaded.

The above-mentioned Saracen Captains, which *Caled* wrote to, to meet him at *Ajnadîn*, prepared to come as ſoon as they had received the Letter; And that which was moſt remarkable, was, that tho they were at Places of a different Diſtance, yet they all happen'd to meet there the ſame Day, being *Friday*, the 13th of *July*, in the Year 633. which they all interpreted as a ſingular Providence. The Armies came within Sight of one another, and the Saracens were ſomething at a ſtand, when they ſaw the Emperor's Army, conſiſting of no leſs than 70000 Horſe. Thoſe who had been in *Perſia*, and ſeen the vaſt Armies of *Coſroes*, confeſſed that they had never ſeen any thing beyond this, either in reſpect of their

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their Number, or Military Preparation. They ſat down in ſight of one another that Night, and early the next Morning prepared for Battle. *Caled* rode about amongſt the Ranks of his Men, and told them, " That they " now ſaw the biggeſt Army of the " Greeks, that ever they were like to " ſee; That if they came off Conque- " rors now, all was their own, and " nothing would be able to ſtand againſt " them for the time to come: *There-* *fore*, adds he, *fight in good earneſt, and take Religion's Part: And* * *be ſure that you do not turn your Backs, and ſo be damned for your Pains. Stand cloſe together, and don't make any Aſſault, till you hear the Word of Command; and ſee that you mind your Buſineſs, and have your Wits and your Hearts about you.* Nor was *Werdàn*, on the other ſide, negligent in encouraging his Men to do their beſt. He called his Officers together, and ſaid, *You know that the Emperor has a great Concern upon him for you, and if you ſhould ſhrink now you come to face your Enemies, and loſe the Field, 'twould be ſuch a Blow, as could never more be recovered, and theſe* Arabs *will take Poſſeſſion of all, and kill your Men,*

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Alcoran, Chap. VIII. v. 15, 16.

and

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and make Slaves of your Wives and Children. All is now at Stake; therefore ſtand to it ſtoutly, and don't flinch, but fight unanimouſly and courageouſly: Beſides we have three to their one for your Comfort, and call upon Chriſt, and he will help you. *Caled* was very apprehenſive of that great Army, and therefore was willing to go to work as warily as he could. He asked his Men, which of them would go and take a View of the Army, and bring him an Account of their Order and Number? *Derar*, who was never backward in any thing that belong'd to a Soldier, proffer'd his Service. *Well then*, ſays *Caled*, *thou ſhalt go, and God go along with thee; but I charge thee*, Derar, *that thou do not aſſault them, nor ſtrike a Stroke without my Order, and ſo be acceſſory to thy own Deſtruction.* Away he goes, and views their Order, their Arms and Standards, and Banners diſplay'd, and Colours flying. *Werdàn* caſt his Eye upon him, and imagining him to be a Scout, ſent a Party of 30 Horſe to ſeize him, and bring him into the Army. When they advanc'd, *Derar* ran away, and they after him; till he had drawn them a good way from the Army, and then he

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he faced about, and fell upon them like a Lion. Firſt he puſhed one thorough with his Lance, and then another; and terrify'd them, and beat them grievouſly, till of thirty he had unhorſed ſeventeen. The reſt fled before him, till they came pretty near the Grecian Camp, and then he turn'd off, and came back to *Caled*. *Did not I warn you not to fight without Order?* ſaid *Caled*. *Nay*, ſaid *Derar*, *I did not begin firſt, but they came out to take me, and I was afraid that God ſhould ſee me turn my Back; and indeed I fought in good earneſt, and without doubt God aſſiſted me againſt them; and if it had not been for diſobeying your Order, I ſhould not have come away as I did; and I perceive already that they will fall into our Hands.*

Then *Caled* ſet his Army in good Order. *Meâd Ebn Jabal*, and *Nomân Ebno'lmokarren* led the Right Wing; and *Saïd Ebn Amer*, and *Serjabil Ebn Haſanah* the Left. *Yezid Ebn' Abi Sophyan* with four Thouſand Horſe guarded the Baggage, Women and Children. *Caulah* and *Opheirah*, and ſeveral other Women of the higheſt Rank and chief Families of the *Arabian* Tribes, with a great many more of inferiour Note, pre-

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prepared themſelves for the Battle. *Caled* turn'd about to them, and ſaid, *Noble Girls, aſſure your ſelves, that what you do is very acceptable to God and his Apoſtle, and the Muſlemans; you will hereby purchaſe a laſting Memory, and the Gates of Paradiſe will be opened to you. And aſſure your ſelves, that I repoſe a great deal of Confidence in you. If any Party of the Greeks fall upon you, fight for your ſelves; and if you ſee any of the Muſlemans turn his Back, ſtay him, and ask him, whether he runs from his Family and Children; for by this means you will encourage the Muſlemans to fight.* *Opheirah* told him, that they were all ready to fight till they died.

Then he rode about, and encouraged his Men, and bad them fight for the ſake of their Wives and Children, and Religion, and ſtand cloſe to it; for if they were beaten, they had no Place to eſcape to, nor any thing left to truſt to. After this he went into the main Body of the Army, and ſtood there with *Amrou Ebno'l Aâs*, *Abdo'rrahmân* the Caliph's Son, *Kais Ebn Hobéirah*, *Raphi Ebn Omeirah*, and ſeveral other Saracens of Note. The two Armies cover'd all the Plains: The Chriſtians

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ſtians made a great Noiſe, and the Saracens repeated as faſt as they could, *La I'laha illa Allàh, Mohammed Reſoul Allàh:* That is, *There is but one God*; Mahomet *is the Apoſtle of God.* Our Author tells us, that juſt before the Battle began, there came out a grave old Man from the Chriſtian Army, and went towards the Saracens, and enquired for the General. *Caled* came forth to him, and the old Man asked him, if he was the General? *They look upon me as ſuch* (ſaid *Caled*) *ſo long as I continue in my Duty towards God, and the Obſervance of what he has left us by his Prophet* Mahomet *of bleſſed Memory; otherwiſe I have no Command or Authority over them.* The old Man told him, that they were come to invade a Land, which had been attempted oftentimes before, but with very ill Succeſs. That thoſe who had undertook the Conqueſt of it, had found their Sepultures in that very Place where they deſigned to erect their Empire. That, tho they had lately obtain'd a Victory over the Chriſtians, yet they muſt not expect that the Advantage would long continue on their ſide: That the Emperor had

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ſent a very numerous Army: That the General however had ſent him to acquaint him, that if they would depart without any Acts of Hoſtility, he would preſent every Saracen in the Army with a Suit of Cloaths, a Turbant, and a Piece of Money, and the General himſelf with ten Suits, and an hundred Pieces. And to their Maſter *Abubeker*, the Caliph, an hundred Suits, and a thouſand Pieces. *No*, ſaid the Saracen, *no Peace, but either become Tributaries forthwith, or elſe* Mahometans; *otherwiſe the Sword muſt determine the Controverſy between us. And as for your great Army that you ſpeak of; we are promiſed the Victory by our Prophet* Mahomet, *in the Book which was ſent down to him. And then for your Proffer of giving us Veſts, Turbants and Money, we ſhall in a ſhort time be Maſters of all your Cloaths, and all the good Things you have about you. Meâd* encouraged the Saracens with the Hopes of Paradiſe, and the Enjoyment of everlaſting Life, if they fought for the Cauſe of God and Religion. *Softly*, ſaid *Caled, let me get them all into good Order before you ſet them upon fighting.* When he had done ſetting them in Order, he ſaid,

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ſaid, *Look to it, for your Enemies are two to your one, and there is no breaking them, but by out-winding them. Hold out till the Evening, for that is the time in which the Prophet obtained the Victory. Have a care you don't turn your Backs, for God ſees you.* The Armies were now come very near, and the Armenian Archers ſhot at the Saracens, and killed and wounded a great many; but *Caled* would not let a Man ſtir. *Derar*, at laſt, impatient of Delay, ſaid, *What do we ſtand ſtill for? The Enemy will think we are afraid of him; prithee give us the Word of Command, and let us go.* *Caled* gave him leave, and he began the Battle; and in a little time a great Part of both the Armies were engaged, and a great many fell on both ſides, but more Chriſtians than Saracens. *Werdàn* perceiving the great Diſadvantage his Men laboured under, was in great Perplexity, and adviſed with his Officers what was beſt to be done. For no Art of a General, nor any Terms he could propoſe, were ſufficient to encourage the Chriſtians to fight ſo deſperately as the Saracens, who cared not for their Lives, being all of them

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fully perſwaded, that whoſoever was killed in fighting for the Propagation of their Religion, ſhould certainly receive a Crown of Martyrdom. And it is moſt true, that nothing will make Men expoſe themſelves unconcernedly to the greateſt Dangers, like a Spirit of Enthuſiaſm. It was agreed, that the beſt thing they could do, would be to circumvent the General of the Saracens by ſome Stratagem, which would extreamly diſcourage the reſt, and facilitate the Victory. This was attempted after this manner: A Meſſenger was to be ſent to *Caled*, to deſire him to ſound a Retreat, and let the Battle ceaſe for that Day, and meet *Werdàn* the next Morning, at a certain Place within View of both the Armies, where they, the two Generals alone, might treat, in order to find out ſome Expedient for the preventing the Effuſion of ſo much Blood, as muſt of neceſſity be loſt on both ſides, if the War continu'd. There was to be an Ambuſcade of ten Men conveniently placed, to ſeize the Saracen. The Meſſage was delivered to one *David*, who was privy to the Secret. When he had received his Errand, he went and enquired

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red for *Caled*, who rode to him, and with a ſtern Look preſented his Lance. *Sir*, ſaid *David*, *I am no Soldier, but have only a Meſſage to deliver to you; therefore pray turn your Lance away whilſt I am talking with you.* Upon which *Caled* laid his Lance a-croſs upon the Pummel of his Saddle, and ſaid, *Speak to the Purpoſe then, and tell no Lyes.* *So I will*, *ſays* David, *if you will promiſe me Security for my ſelf and my Family.* Which *Caled* had no ſooner done, but he acquainted him thoroughly with the whole Buſineſs. *Well*, ſaid *Caled*, *go and tell him, it ſhall be ſo.* Preſently after *Abu Obeidah* met *Caled*, and obſerving an unuſual Briskneſs and Gaiety in his Countenance, asked him, What was the Matter? *Caled* told him the Contrivance, and added, *I durſt venture to go alone, and engage to bring thee all their Heads along with me.* *Abu Obeidah* told him, that he was a Perſon likely enough to do ſuch a thing; but ſince the Prophet had no where commanded them to expoſe themſelves to unneceſſary Danger, he would have him take ten Men to anſwer them. *Derar* thought it not the beſt way to defer it till the Morning,

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but was for going that Evening to ſurprize that Ambuſcade. Having obtained Leave, he went, after it was dark, towards the Place whether *Werdàn* had ſent his Ambuſcade before. When he came near, he ordered his Men to ſtand ſtill, whilſt he went to obſerve their Poſture. Then he put off his Cloaths (for he was as often uſed to go without as with) and took his Sword, and went creeping along, till he came ſo near as to hear them ſnoar, for they were all drunk, and aſleep, and their Arms lay under their Heads. Having ſo fair an Opportunity, he had much ado to forbear killing them himſelf; but conſidering that one of them might poſſibly awaken the other, he came back, and brought his Companions along with him, who took each of them his Man, and diſpatched the Ambuſcade with all imaginable Silence and Secrecy. The next thing to be done, was to ſtrip theſe Men, and put on their Cloaths, for fear any of the Greeks ſhould chance to come by the Place, and ſeeing them in their *Arabian* Habit, make a Diſcovery. *Derar* told them, that it was a good Omen, and that

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that he did not at all question but that God would fulfil his Promise to them.

About break of Day, *Caled* said the Morning Prayer in the Camp, and drew up his Army in order of Battle: Then he put on a yellow Silk Vest and a green Turbant. Assoon as the Christians saw the Saracens in order, *Werdàn* sent an Horseman, who rode up to the Front of the Saracen Army, and cried out, *Heark ye, you* Arabians; *Is this fair Play? Have you forgot your Agreement you made with us Yesterday? How!* said *Caled*; *what! charge us with Breach of Promise? The General*, answered the Messenger, *expects you should be as good as your Word, and meet him, in order to treat of a Peace. Go and tell him*, says *Caled*, *that I am just a coming.* Quickly after, *Caled* saw *Werdàn* go out upon a Mule, very richly dressed and adorned with Gold Chains and precious Stones. *Hah!* says he, *this will be all ours by and by, if it please God.* Then he went after him, and when he was almost at him, they both alighted. When *Werdàn* had drawn him pretty near the Place where the Ambush lay; they sat down opposite to

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one another to diſcourſe, but *Werdàn* ſtill kept his Hand upon the Hilt of his Sword, for fear the Saracen ſhould chance to fall upon him on a ſudden. *Come*, ſays *Caled*, *now let us hear what you have to ſay; but be ſure you deal fairly, and like a Man, and tell no Lyes; for it does not at all become Men in eminent Stations to deal deceitfully, and uſe Tricks. What I deſire of you*, ſaid *Werdàn*, *is, that you would let us know what you would have, and come to ſome reaſonable Terms, that we may have Peace, and live at quiet on both Sides; and whatſoever you deſire of us, we will give you freely, for we know that you are a poor ſort of People, and live in a barren Country, and in great Scantineſs and Scarcity; therefore if a ſmall Matter will content you, we will give it you willingly. Alas! for thee, thou Chriſtian Dog*, ſaid *Caled*, *we bleſs God that he has provided a great deal better for us than to live upon your Charity, and what you pleaſe to ſpare; for he has given all that you have freely to us, nay even your Wives and your Children to be divided amongſt us, unleſs you can ſay*, LA ILAHA, &c. There is but one God, *Mahomet* is the Apoſtle of God: *Or if you do not like that, pay Tribute. If that will not do,*

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do, then let the Sword determine between us, and God give the Victory to which Side he pleaſes. There are no other Terms to be had of us. As for your talking of Peace to us, we for our parts take more Delight in War; and for your ſaying that we are ſuch a contemptible People, I would have you know that we reckon you no better than Dogs. You ſee I don't talk like a Man that is much inclined to Peace; and if the Meaning of your calling me hither, was, that you might have me alone; here we are in a Place by our ſelves, far enough both from my Army and yours: Come and fight with me if you dare. Immediately upon this, *Werdàn* roſe up, but truſting to the Ambuſcade, made no haſte to draw his Sword. *Caled* ſeized him forthwith, and ſhook him, and turned him about every way. Then he cried out, *Come out, come hither, this* Arab *has ſeiz'd me.* Aſſoon as they heard his Voice, they came forth, and *Werdàn*, at firſt Sight, took them to be his own Men; but when they came nearer, and he ſaw *Derar* before them, with nothing on but a Pair of Breeches, and ſhaking his Sword at him, he began to be extreamly uneaſy, and ſaid to *Caled*, *I beg of you not to deliver me into the*

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* *Arab.* Shaithân.

Hands of that * *Devil*; *I hate the Sight of him, it was he that killed my Son.* *Caled* ſwore by God, that when he came up, he would kill him too. By this time *Derar* was come up, and ſaid, *Now thou curſed Wretch, what is become of thy Deceit, with which thou would'ſt have enſnared the Companions of the Apoſtle of God?* And was juſt a going to kill him. *Hold*, ſaid *Caled*, *let him alone till I give you the Word.* When he ſaw himſelf in the midſt of his Enemies, he fell upon the Ground, and began to cry *Quarter*: But *Caled* anſwered, *Là Amân illà Beïmân*; *No Quarter*, (or *Security*) *where there is no Faith kept. You pretended to Peace, and at the ſame time deſigned to murther me treacherouſly.* The Word was no ſooner out of his Mouth, but *Derar* ſtruck his Head off. Then they ſtript him, and put his Head upon the Point of *Caled*'s Lance, and marched towards the Army. As ſoon as the Chriſtians eſpied them, they thought they had been their own Men, and that *Werdân* had brought the Saracen's Head along with him. The Saracens thought ſo too, and were under great Concern for *Caled*. Aſſoon as ever they came near, they charged the Chri-

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Chriſtians, and *Abu Obeidah* (who commanded the Army in *Caled*'s Abſence) knew them, and told his Men. Then they fell on, and engaged in all Parts with all the Vigor imaginable. The Fight, or rather the Slaughter, continued till Evening. The Chriſtian Army was entirely routed and defeated. The Saracens killed that Day fifty thouſand Men. Thoſe that eſcaped fled ſome of them to *Cæſarea*, others to *Damaſcus*, and ſome to *Antioch*. The Saracens took Plunder of ineſtimable Value, and a great many Banners, and Croſſes made of Gold and Silver, precious Stones, Silver and Gold Chains, rich Cloaths, and Arms without Number; which *Caled* ſaid he would not divide till *Damaſcus* was taken. Upon this *Caled* ſends a Meſſenger with the following Letter, to *Abubeker* the Caliph.

In the Name of the moſt merciful God.

" From the Servant of God, *Caled*
" *Ebn Waled*, to the Succeſſor of the
" Apoſtle of God, upon whom be the
" Bleſſing of God. I praiſe God, who
" is the only God, and there is none
" other

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" other beſides him; and I pray for
" his Prophet *Mahomet*, upon whom
" be the Bleſſing of God: And I praiſe
" him, and give Thanks to him ſtill
" more, for his delivering the True
" Believers, and deſtroying the Idola-
" ters, and extinguiſhing the Light of
" thoſe that err. I acquaint thee, O
" Emperor of the Faithful, that we
" met with the Grecian Army at *Aj-*
" *nadîn*, with *Werdân* the Prefect of
" *Hems*; and they ſwore * by Chriſt,
" that they would not run away, nor
" turn their Backs, tho they were kil-
" led to the laſt Man: So we fell
" upon them, calling upon God, and
" truſting upon him, and God ſup-
" ported us, and gave us the Victory,
" and our Enemies were decreed to be
" overcome, and we killed them on all
" Sides, to the Number of fifty thou-
" ſand Men; and we loſt of the Muſle-
" mans in two Battles four hundred
" and ſeventy four Men; and this Let-
" ter is written on the fifth Day of the
" Week, being the thirtieth of the firſt
" *Jomâdah*; and we are now return-
" ing to *Damaſcus*, if it pleaſe God.
" Pray for our Succeſs and Proſ-
" perity. Farewell. The Peace and
" Bleſ-

Arab. Bidinihim, *i. e. by their Religion.*

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" Bleſſing of God be upon thee and all " the Muſlemans.

As ſoon as the Meſſenger told the Caliph the News, he fell down and worſhipped God. Then he opened the Letter, and read it over firſt to himſelf, and then to thoſe that were about him. The News immediately flew through all the Country; and the hungry *Arabians* came thronging to *Medinah*, to beg Leave of the Caliph to go into *Syria*, all of them expecting great Places and large Poſſeſſions, and were very willing to exchange the uncultivated Deſarts of *Arabia Petræa*, for the Delicacies of *Damaſcus*. *Omar* did by no means approve of their Motion, but ſaid to *Abubeker*, " You know what ſort of Fellows theſe " were to us, when time was: When " they were able to oppoſe us, and we " were but few in Number, they en- " deavour'd, to the utmoſt of their " Power, to ruin our Religion, and " put out the Light of God, and when " they did turn, it was only to ſave " themſelves; and now they ſee God " has been pleaſed to bleſs our Forces " with Succeſs, they are willing to " ſhare in the Spoil, and they'll go " and

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" and make a Diſturbance among thoſe
" who have got it with their Swords.
" Therefore I pray let none of them
" go; but let thoſe that have won it,
" wear it. *Abubeker* was of his Mind. As ſoon as the Inhabitants of *Meccah* heard it, they were greatly concerned, and thought themſelves very much affronted. Some of the *Coreiſtæ* (a noble Tribe among the *Arabs*, and which had violently oppoſed *Mahomet* at his firſt ſetting out, and made him fly from *Meccah* to *Medinah*) came in a Body, to make their Complaint to *Abubeker* the *Caliph*, whom they found ſitting with ſome Muſlemans, and *Ali* on his Right-Hand, and *Omar* on his Left. When they had paid due Reverence to the Caliph, *Abu Sophyan* accoſted *Omar* after this manner. *'Tis true, in the* * *Times of Ignorance, there us'd to be Claſhing and Difference amongſt us; and we did what we could againſt you, and you the like to us. But now ſince it has pleaſed God to direct us both into the true Religion, that ought to deſtroy all Hatred and Animoſities between us. For the Faith deſtroys Hatred and Variance, as well as Idolatry. And yet you continue your Hatred ſtill, not-*

* *So they call all the Time before* Mahomet.

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notwithſtanding we are your Brethren in Religion, and your near Relations beſides. What is the Meaning of this Spight both formerly and now? Is it not time to purify your Hearts from Envy? That you did come into the Profeſſion of the true Religion before us we confeſs, and are willing, upon that ſcore, to pay you all the Reſpect which is due. Having ſaid thus, he held his Peace, and *Arak* commended him, and ſeconded him. Then *Abu Sophyan* deſired the *Caliph* and all the Muſlemans to bear witneſs, that he took upon himſelf freely to fight for the Cauſe of God: The like did all the Chief of *Meccah* which were preſent. This ſatisfy'd the *Caliph*, and made him be content to let them go. Upon which he prayed to God to confirm them in their good Reſolutions, and bleſs them with anſwerable Succeſs. Then he wrote a Letter to *Caled*; in which he acquainted him, that he had received his with great Satisfaction; and that he had ſent to him ſome of the Chief of *Meccah*, and the adjacent Country, particularly *Amrou Ebn Maadi*, and *Malek Alaſhtae*: And order'd him, after he had conquer'd *Damaſcus*, to go on to *Hems*, *Mearrah* and *Antioch*;

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och; and bad him be kind to the Muſlemans, and think upon Mortality, and ſo concluded. When he had done, he ſeal'd it with *Mahomet*'s Seal, and deliver'd it to *Abdo'rrahmân*, the ſame that brought him the Letter from *Caled*.

When *Caled* ſent the Letter to *Abubeker*, he was upon his March from *Ajnadîn* to *Damaſcus*. The poor Inhabitants had heard the lamentable News of the Loſs of the Emperor's General and Army. In the mean time, whileſt the Saracens were abſent, a great many of the Inhabitants of the neighbouring Villages, to ſecure themſelves, got into *Damaſcus*. The Return of the Saracens was expected daily, and all manner of Warlike Preparation was made for the enduring a Siege. Their Engines were planted upon the Walls, and Banners diſplayed. In a little time their Hearts aked, when they ſaw the Saracens appear with a formidable Army, fluſhed with Succeſs, and enriched with the Spoils of their Countrymen and Neighbours. *Amrou Ebno'l Aâs* led the Front, conſiſting of above nine Thouſand Horſe. After him came *Abu Sophyan* with two Thouſand: Then *Serjabil Ebn Haſanah*

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nah (who was one of *Mahomet*'s Secretaries when he wrote the *Alcoran*:) After him *Omar Ebn Rebiyah*. *Caled* marched in the Rear, and brought up the rest of the Army under the Standard of the Black Eagle. When they were within a Mile of the City, *Caled* called all the Generals together, and gave them their respective Charges, and said to *Abu Obeidah*, "You know "very well the Villainy and Deceit of "these People, and how they came "and fell upon our Rear, as we were "in our March to *Ajnadîn*. Have a "care of them therefore, and don't be "so favourable, nor agree to give them "Security, for they will certainly play "some Trick with you. Go and sit "down before the Gate *Jabiyah*, at a "good Distance, and assault them fre-"quently, and don't let the Length "of the Time make you uneasy, for "Victory is the Reward of Patience. *Abu Obeidah* went according to Order, and pitched his Tent, which was made of Hair; for he would by no means suffer them to set up one of those rich Tents which they had taken from the Greeks at *Ajnadîn*. Which my Author says, "Proceeded from his great Hu-

"mility

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* Arab. Keſra'lamali.

" mility to God, and the * Shortneſs " of his Hope, and that he might not " pleaſe himſelf with the gay Things " of this World, and the Poſſeſſions of " it. For they did not fight for Domi- " nion, but in Hopes of receiving a Re- " ward from God, and having their " Portion in a future State. And they " uſed to ſet thoſe Tents and Spoil " which they had taken, at a great " Diſtance from them; and if at any " time they found any Victuals of the " Chriſtians, they would not eat it, " becauſe the Name of God was not " mention'd over it when it was killed. *Abu Sophyan* was placed over againſt the *Little Gate*; *Serjabil Ebn Haſanah* at St. *Thomas* his Gate with 2000 Horſe; *Amrou Ebno'l Aâs* at *Paradiſe* Gate; *Kais Ebn Hobeirah* ſat down before the Gate *Kaiſân*. There was another which was called St. *Mark*'s Gate; where there never was any fighting, (whether becauſe of the Incommodiouſneſs of the Place, or for what other Reaſon, I know not) which upon that Account was called *Babo'-'Jsalâmah*, *The Gate of Peace*. After he had given Orders to all the Officers, he went himſelf and ſat down before the Eaſt Gate. Then

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Then he call'd *Derar* to him; and gave him the Command of 2000 Horſe, and ordered him to keep riding round about the Camp, and never ſtand ſtill long in any Place, for fear any Succours ſhould come from the Emperor, and ſurprize the Camp: *And* (ſays he) *if they be too hard for thee, ſend to me, and I'll help thee. I ſuppoſe then* (ſaid *Derar*) *that I am to ſtand ſtill the mean while! No, no,* (ſaid *Caled*) *I don't mean ſo neither.* There were none of the Saracens on Horſe-back, but thoſe which were with *Derar*, whoſe Buſineſs it was to ride round the Camp, and guard it: For the Saracens, if they engaged Horſe, uſed their Horſes: If otherwiſe, they for the moſt part fought on Foot. *Caled* having thus formed his Siege, the next Morning early the Beſieged ſally'd out, and the Fight continu'd till the Evening. That ſame Day *Caled* received *Abubeker*'s Letter, and after the Fight was over, ſent it to the Generals, who were poſted at the ſeveral Gates.

The poor Inhabitants perceiving themſelves now beſieged in good earneſt, began to think of coming to Terms, and rather ſubmit to pay Tri-

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bute, and ſo ſecure their Lives and Fortunes; than by ſtanding it out, expoſe themſelves to inevitable Death. The chief of them met, and a conſiderable part of them were very much enclined to ſurrender. *Thomas*, the Emperor's Son-in-law, lived then in *Damaſcus*, but as a private Man, not in any Commiſſion; for tho the Emperor had offer'd him honourable Poſts, he refuſed to accept of any Employment; but was nevertheleſs a Perſon of great Courage, and an excellent Soldier. Out of Reſpect to his Quality and Abilities, the Citizens thought it adviſeable to do nothing raſhly, without having firſt conſulted him. When they came to his Palace, he ſeem'd to wonder, *That theſe vile* Arabs, *poor Wretches, naked and barefoot, and far from compleatly arm'd, ſhould be able to put them in ſuch a Conſternation.* He told them, *That the* Arabs *were Maſters of no Courage, but what was wholly owing to their Fear: That there was a great deal of Difference, both in reſpect of Number, Arms, and every thing elſe that made an Army conſiderable, between them and the* Damaſcens. Adding, *That they had no reaſon to deſpair of the Victory.* The Citi-

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Citizens told him, with Submiſſion, that he was under a great Miſtake: *For the late Victories of the* Arabs *had furniſhed them very well with Arms. Beſides*, (ſaid they) *they all fight like mad Men; for they encounter us naked, or any way, tho under never ſo great Diſadvantages; for they ſtedfaſtly believe, that every one of their own Men that is killed, paſſes immediately to Paradiſe, and every one of ours to Hell; and this makes them deſperate.* To which *Thomas* anſwered, *That it was plain from thence, that they had no true Courage, who were forced to make uſe of ſuch an Artifice to encourage themſelves to fight. Well, Sir*, ſaid they, *if you will be pleaſed to help us, and put us in a way to make a Defence, we ſhall be at your Service, otherwiſe we muſt ſurrender.* *Thomas* was afraid they ſhould be in earneſt; and, after a little Pauſe, he promiſed to go out with them the next Morning.

They kept Watch all the Night, and ſupplyed the Abſence of the Sun with numberleſs Lights placed in the Turrets. The Saracens were encouraging one another to do their utmoſt againſt the Enemies of God, as they uſed to call all but themſelves. In the Morn-

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ing early they prepared for Battle; and the Saracens were ready to make a General Aſſault. All the Generals ſaid their Prayers among their Men, and *Caled* bad them hold out, *for they ſhould reſt after Death*; adding, *That is the beſt Reſt which ſhall never be ſucceeded by any Labour.* *Thomas* was ready in the Morning, and juſt as he was a going out, they ſet up a Crucifix at the Gate, and the Biſhop, attended with ſome other of the Clergy, brought the New-Teſtament, and placed it at a little Diſtance from the Crucifix. As *Thomas* went out at the Gate, he laid his Hand upon the Cover of the Teſtament, and ſaid, *O God! If our Religion be true, help us, and deliver us not into the Hand of our Enemies; but overthrow the Oppreſſor, for thou knoweſt him. O God help thoſe which profeſs the Truth, and are in the right way.* *Serjabil* heard him ſay ſomething, but could not tell what; and when *Romanus* (who was the treacherous Governour of *Boſtra*, and uſed to be their Interpreter) had explained it to him, he was very angry, and cried out; *Thou lieſt, thou Enemy of God; for Jeſus is of no more account with God than* Adam. *He created him*

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him out of the Duſt, and made him a living Man, walking upon the Earth, and afterwards raiſed him to Heaven. The Battle was joined forthwith, and *Thomas* fought admirably well; he was an incomparable Archer, and ſhot a great many of the Saracens. Among the reſt he wounded *Abân Ebn Said* with a poiſon'd Arrow. *Abân* drew out the Arrow, and unfolding his Turbant, bound up the Wound. But he quickly felt the Effect of the Poiſon in his Body, and not being able to hold up any longer, was carried into the Camp, where his Friends would by all means unbind the Wound, to dreſs it; but he told them, if they did, he ſhould die inſtantly. Which accordingly happen'd, for they had no ſooner open'd it, but he immediately languiſhed; and when he could ſpeak no longer, continued teſtifying, by Signs, the Stedfaſtneſs of his Belief in God and *Mahomet*. He was newly marry'd; no longer ago than when the Saracens were at *Ajnadîn*, to a brave Virago, one of the fighting ſort, who could uſe a Bow and Arrows very well. As ſoon as ſhe heard the News of his Death, ſhe came running in great Haſte, and

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when ſhe ſaw him, ſhe bore it with admirable Patience, and ſaid, *Happy art thou, my Dear, thou art gone to thy Lord, who firſt joined us together, and then parted us aſunder: I will revenge thy Death, and endeavour to the utmoſt of my Power to come to the Place where thou art, becauſe I love thee. Henceforth ſhall no Man ever touch me more, for I have dedicated my ſelf to the Service of God.* Then they waſhed him (as 'tis their Cuſtom) and buried him forthwith with the uſual Solemnities. She never wept nor wail'd, but with a Courage above what could be expected from the Weakneſs of her Sex, armed her ſelf with his Weapons, and went into the Battle, without *Caled*'s notice. When ſhe came into the Field, ſhe asked whereabouts it was that *Abân* was kill'd. They told her, over againſt St. *Thomas* his Gate, and that *Thomas*, the Emperor's Son in law, was the Man that did it. Away ſhe went towards the Place, and with the firſt Arrow ſhot the Standard Bearer in the Hand. The Standard fell down, and the Saracens inſtantly ſnatch'd it up, and carried it off. *Thomas* was grievouſly concern'd at the Loſs of the Standard, and laid about him

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him furiouſly, and ordered his Men to look about them narrowly, to ſee if they could find it any where, and retake it, if poſſible. When the Saracens that had it ſaw themſelves hard beſet, they ſhifted it from one to another, till it came into *Serjabil*'s Hands. The Damaſcens follow'd *Thomas* with a great deal of Courage and Vigour, and there began a moſt bloody Battle; and all the while the Engines play'd from the Walls upon the Saracens, and threw Stones and Arrows as thick as Hail. They plied them ſo well from the Walls, that the Saracens were forced to retreat, and fight out of the reach of the Engines. *Thomas* at laſt ſpied the Standard in *Serjabil*'s Hand, and made up to him, and fell upon him like a Lion. Upon which *Serjabil* threw the Standard away, and engaged his Adverſary. Whileſt they were fighting, and every one admir'd *Thomas* his Valour, *Abân*'s Wife ſaw him, and asked who it was: They told her, it was the ſame Man that killed her Husband. As ſoon as ſhe heard that, ſhe levelled an Arrow at him, and ſhot him into the Eye; ſo that he was forc'd to retire into the City. The Saracens

Abubeker. Alwákidi.

followed him cloſe, and killed 300 in the Purſuit, and would have gone after him further, but they durſt not for the Engines.

Thomas had his Eye dreſſed, but would by no means be perſwaded to go to his Houſe, tho the Inhabitants of the Town intreated him very much, and told him, that there was no Good to be done with theſe *Arabs*, but that the beſt way would be to ſurrender the Town. But he, being a Man of undaunted Courage and Reſolution, ſaid, they ſhould not come off ſo; that they ſhould not take his Standard, and put his Eye out unrevenged. He conſider'd what a Reflection it would be upon his Honour, and how the Emperor would look upon it, if he ſhould ſuffer himſelf to be diſheartned and daunted by the *Arabs*. The Battle continued till Night parted them; *Thomas* all the while continued in the Gate, meditating Revenge. When it was dark, he ſent for the Chief Men of the City, and not at all daunted, ſaid to them, *Look ye, you have to do with a People, who have neither good Manners, nor Religion, nor any Faith or Honeſty belonging to them*, (for which Words my Author is

is very angry with him, and gives him an hearty * Curſe) *and if they ſhould make any Agreement with you, and give you Security, they'll never ſtand to their Word, but lay the Country waſt: And how can you bear to ſee what is dearest to you invaded, and your poor Children made Slaves, and your ſelves turned out of Houſe and Harbour, and deprived of all the Conveniencies of Life?* They told him, they were ready at his Service, either to fight upon the Walls, or to ſally. Then he ordered them every Man to make ready with all poſſible ſpeed, and all the Silence imaginable, that they might not give the leaſt Alarm to the Saracens. All the armed Men were drawn up at the ſeveral Gates, and upon a Signal given by one ſingle Stroke upon a Bell, the Gates were all opened at the ſame inſtant; the Chriſtians (ſome few only excepted, who were left to ſecure the Gates and the Walls) ſallied out all together, and poured in upon the Saracen Camp like a Torrent, in hopes of finding them wounded and tired, and altogether unprovided to receive ſo vigorous an Attack. The whole Camp was immediately alarmed; and aſſoon as *Caled* knew

Abubeker. Alwâkidi.

* *Arab.* Kádaba'llaïn Achzàho'llâh; *that is,* The accurſed (*meaning* Thomas) lyed, God confound him.

Abubeker. Alwâkidi.

knew it, he ſaid, *O God, who never ſleepeſt, look upon thy Servants, and do not deliver them into the Hands of their Enemies.* Then he order'd *Pheljân Ebn Zeyâd* to ſupply his Place, and rode with 400 Men as faſt as he could, and the Tears lay upon his Cheeks for the Concern he had upon him for his dear Saracens. The Care of *Serjabil* and *Abu Obeidah* made him very anxious, being well aware of *Thomas*'s Valour. When he came near the Gate, he found how things ſtood; *Thomas* had fallen violently upon the Saracens, and before he came out, commanded his Men to give Quarter to none but the General. The *Jews*, which were in *Damaſcus*, plaid the Engines upon the Saracens. *Thomas* was again engag'd with his former Adverſary *Serjabil*. *Abân*'s Wife was among *Serjabil*'s Men, and did great Execution with her Bow and Arrows, till ſhe had ſpent them all but one, which ſhe kept to make Signs with as ſhe ſaw Occaſion. Preſently one of the Chriſtians advanced up towards her, ſhe ſhot him in the Throat, and killed him, and was then taken Priſoner. *Serjabil* at laſt ſtruck a violent Stroke, which *Thomas* receiving upon

upon his Buckler, *Serjabil*'s Sword broke. *Thomas* thought himſelf ſure of him, and had certainly either killed him, or taken him Priſoner, but *Abdo'rrahmân* and *Abân* (*Othman*'s Son, who was afterwards Caliph) came up at that inſtant with a Regiment of freſh Horſe, and reſcued both him and *Abân*'s Wife. *Thomas* perceiving the Saracens came in ſo faſt upon him, retired into the City. We ſaid before that *Abu Obeidah* was poſted at the Gate *Jabiyah*; he was in his Tent when the Chriſtians firſt ſallied out, and went to Prayers. Afterwards, whilſt his Men were engaged, he took a Party, and got between the Chriſtians and the City; ſo that they were ſurrounded, and charged on both Sides. They made a quick Diſpatch of them, for never a Man that went out at that Gate, returned again: And tho thoſe that ſallied at the other Gates eſcaped ſomething better, yet the Chriſtians had no Reaſon to boaſt of any Advantage, having loſt that Night ſeveral thouſand Men. Abubeker: Alwâkidi.

The Chriſtians now quite diſheartned, came about *Thomas*, with repeated Intreaties to ſurrender; they told him,

Abubeker. Alwákidi.

him, they had loſt above half their Men, and what were left were not ſufficient for the Defence of the Town: They told him at laſt, in plain Terms, that as to what concern'd himſelf, he might manage as he pleas'd, but for their Parts they were reſolved to get as good Terms for themſelves as they could. *Thomas*, however, endeavour'd to perſwade them to ſtay till he ſhould write to the Grecian Emperor, and accordingly did write. The Saracens continued fighting hard, and reduced the Beſieged to very great Streights, who now every Day made a worſe Defence than other. They deſired *Caled* to leave off the Aſſault, that they might have a little time to conſider: But he turn'd a deaf Ear to them, for he had rather take them by Force, put them to the Sword, and let his Saracens have the Plunder, than that they ſhould ſurrender, and have Security for themſelves and their Fortunes. But *Abu Obeidah* was of a quite different Diſpoſition, a well meaning, merciful Man, who had rather at all times that they ſhould ſurrender, and become Tributaries, than be expoſed to any Extremity; and this the Beſieged knew very well:

Where-

Wherefore, one Night they ſent a Meſſenger that underſtood *Arabick*, out at that Gate where *Abu Obeidah* was poſted, who called out to the Centinels, and deſired ſafe Conduct for ſome of the Inhabitants of *Damaſcus* to come to their Maſter *Abu Obeidah*, in order to talk of an Agreement. Aſſoon as *Abu Obeidah* was acquainted with the News, he was very glad to hear it, and ſent *Abu Hobeirah* to the *Damaſcens*, to let them know that they ſhould have free Liberty to go where they pleaſed. They asked him whether or no he was one of *Mahomet*'s Companions, that they might depend upon him? He told them, that he was, but that made no Difference; for if the meaneſt Slave among them had given them Security, it would have been all one, for they ſhould have perform'd it, becauſe God had ſaid, in the Book which he ſent to their Prophet *Mahomet*, * *Perform your Covenant, for that ſhall be called to an Account*. Upon this, about an hundred of the Chief of the Citizens and Clergy went out, and when they came near the Camp, ſome of the Saracens met them, and took off their Circingles, and conducted them to *Abu Obeidah*'s Tent;

Abubeker. Alwákidi.

* Alcoran, Chap. XVII. 36

Abubeker. Alwákidi.

Tent; who uſed them very civilly, and bad them ſit down, and told them, that their Prophet *Mahomet* had commanded them to pay Reſpect to Perſons of Rank and Quality. They were very glad to find him ſo courteous, and when they came to talk of Terms, they firſt deſired that their Churches might be ſecured to them, and not any way alienated. He granted them ſeven Churches, and gave them a Writing, but did not ſet his own Name to it, nor any Witneſſes, becauſe he was not General. Then he went, attended with about an hundred Men, to take Poſſeſſion. When he came to the Gates, he demanded Hoſtages; which being delivered, he enter'd into the City.

Caled was altogether ignorant of this Tranſaction, and was, at the very ſame time when this Buſineſs was concluded, making a ſharp Aſſault at the Eaſt Gate, being eſpecially provoked at the Loſs of *Caled Ebn Said*, (*Amrou Ebno'l Aâs* his Brother, by the Mother's Side) whom one of the Beſieged had ſhot with a poiſon'd Arrow. In the mean time, there came to *Caled* from the Town one *Joſias* a Prieſt, who told him, that having been long converſant with ancient

cient Writings and Prophecies, and eſpecially the Prophet *Daniel*, he was abundantly ſatisfied of the future Greatneſs of the Saracen Empire; and proffer'd his Service to introduce him and his Army into the Town, upon Condition that *Caled* would grant him Security for him and his. Whether any Conviction that he had met with in reading that Prophet, or the Deſire he had to preſerve himſelf, was the prevailing Motive with him, I ſhall not determine. Neither did *Caled* much trouble himſelf about that, but gave him his Hand to perform the Condition, and ſent with him an hundred Men, moſt of them *Homerites*, (a warlike Tribe of the *Arabs*) and bad them as ſoon as they were enter'd to cry out as loud as they could *Allàh Acbar*, and make themſelves Maſters of the Gates, and break the Bolts, and remove the Chains, that he with the reſt of the Army might march into the City without any Difficulty. This was accordingly perform'd. The poor Chriſtians, aſſoon as ever they heard the *Tecbîr*, (ſo the *Arabs* call the crying out *Allàh Acbar*) were ſenſible that the City was loſt; and were ſeiz'd with ſuch an

Abubeker. Alwákidi.

Abubeker. Alwakidi.

an Aſtoniſhment, that they let their Weapons fall out of their Hands. *Caled* entering at the Eaſt Gate with the Saracens, put all to the Sword, and Chriſtian Blood ſtreamed down the Streets of *Damaſcus*. They went on thus murdering all they found, till they came to St. *Mary*'s Church, where they met with *Abu Obeidah* and his Company. When *Caled* ſaw *Abu Obeidah* and his Men in their March, and the Prieſts and Monks before them, and all the Saracens with their Swords by their Sides, not ſo much as one drawn, he wonder'd what was the Matter. *Abu Obeidah* perceived in him Tokens of Diſlike, and ſaid, *God has delivered the City into my Hands by way of Surrender, and ſaved the Believers the Trouble of fighting.* At which *Caled* was very angry, and ſaid, that he had taken it by the Sword, and they ſhould have no Security. *Abu Obeidah* told him, that he had given them an Article in writing, which they had here to ſhew: *And how* (ſaid *Caled*) *came you to agree with them, without acquainting me firſt? Did not you know me? Did not you know that I am your General, and* * *Maſter of your Counſels? And therefore I'll put them every one to the Sword.*

* *Arab.* Sáhhibo Ráyecha.

Sword. I did not think (ſaid *Abu Obeidah*) *that when I had made an Agreement, or* * *deſign'd to do any thing, you would ever have contradicted me, or have gone about to make it void. But you ſhall not make it void, for I have given all theſe People my Protection, and that in the Name of God and his Prophet, and all the Muſlemans that were with me lik'd it, and approv'd it, and we don't uſe to be worſe than our Word.*

Abubeker. Alwákidi.

* Arab. Raái-to Ráyan.

There was a great Noiſe made on both ſides, and *Caled* would not abate an ace. The hungry Arabs that were with him were eager to fall on, and thirſted after Blood and Plunder. The poor Inhabitants were now in a very calamitous Condition, for every Man of them had been murther'd, or made a Slave, if *Abu Obeidah* had not ſtood their Friend; who ſeeing the *Arabs* fall on, and kill and take Priſoners, was extreamly concern'd, and call'd out in a Paſſion; * *By God, my Word is look'd upon as nothing, the Covenant which I make is broken.* Then he turn'd his Horſe, and rode about among the

* Arab. Wallàh, *an Oath frequently us'd by the* Arabs, *who do not account it any Profanation of the Divine Name, to ſwear by it; but rather an Acknowledgment of his Omnipotence and Omnipreſence; and therefore we find it uſed by the moſt religious among them.*

Abubeker. Alwákidi.

Soldiers, and ſaid, *I adjure you by the Apoſtle of God, that you meddle with none of them, till you ſee how* Caled *and I can adjuſt this Matter.* With much ado he made them forbear; then the chief Officers came to them, and they all went together into the Church, to debate this Affair. Several of them enclined to the more merciful ſide, for which they gave this very ſubſtantial Reaſon, *viz. That there were a great many Cities ſtill to be taken, and if it ſhould once be reported about the Country, that the* Saracens *had broke their Promiſe, after they had given Security; they muſt never expect to have any other Place ſurrender, but make the moſt obſtinate Defence imaginable.* At laſt ſome adviſed, that *Caled* ſhould have the Diſpoſal of that part of the Town which he had taken by the Sword; and *Abu Obeidah* of that which he had taken upon Articles; at leaſt till ſuch time as they could appeal to the *Caliph*, and be determined by his Sentence. This was ſo reaſonable a Propoſal, that *Caled* could not refuſe it; ſo at laſt he conſented that the People ſhould have their Protection, but would give no Quarter to *Thomas* and *Herbîs*, nor any of their Soldiers. *A-*

bu

bu Obeidah told him, that they were all included, and begg'd of him not to make any further Disturbance about it. Abubeker. Alwâkidi.

And now we have seen *Damascus*, the most noble and ancient City of *Syria*, taken by the Saracens; we must leave the Conquerors in Possession, and the miserable Inhabitants in their deplorable Circumstances, and take a View of Affairs at *Medinah*. * *Abubeker*, the Caliph, died the same Day that *Damascus* was taken †, which was on *Fryday*, the twenty third of *August*, in the Year of our Lord six hundred and thirty four; and of the *Hegjrah* the thirteenth ||. There are various Reports concerning his Death: Some say, that he was poison'd by the *Jews*, eating Rice with *Hareth Ebn Caldah*, and that they both died of it within a Twelvemonth after *. But *Ayesha* says, that he bathed himself upon a cold Day, which threw him into a Fever, of which he died within fifteen Days; All which time *Omar* said Prayers publickly in his Place.

* Alwâkidi. † Elmakin. Hegjrah 13. A. D. 634. || Abu'lpheda. * Ahmed Ebn Mohammed Ebn Abdi Rabbihi & Abu'lpheda.

† When he perceived himself near his Departure, he call'd his Secretary, and gave him Directions to write as follows. † *Author of the History of the Holy Land*, M. S. Arab. Pocock. Num. 362.

Abubeker.

In the Name of the moſt merciful God.

This is the Teſtament of Abubeker Ebn Abi Kohâpha, *which he made at that time when he was juſt a going out of this World, and entering into the other. A time in which the Infidel ſhall believe, and the wicked Perſon be * aſſured, and the Liar ſhall ſpeak Truth. I appoint* Omar Ebno'l Chitâb *my Succeſſor over you; therefore hearken to him, and obey him. If he does that which is right and juſt, 'tis what I think and know of him. If he does otherwiſe, every Man muſt be rewarded according to his Works. I intend to do for the beſt, but I don't know hidden Things: But thoſe who do Evil ſhall find the Conſequences of it. Fare ye well, and the Mercy and Bleſſing of God be upon you.*

* That is, The Infidel and Wicked ſhall then be aſſured of the Reality of thoſe Things relating to a future State which they diſbelieved and ridiculed in their Life-time.

When he deſigned to make *Omar* his Succeſſor, *Omar* deſired to be excus'd, and ſaid, he had no need of that Place. To which *Abubeker* anſwered, that the Place had need of him, and ſo appointed him Caliph againſt his Will. Then he gave him ſuch Inſtructions as he thought proper; and when *Omar* was gone

Abubeker.

gone out of his Preſence, he lifted up his Hand, and ſaid, *O God! I intend nothing by this but the Peoples Good, and I fear leſt there ſhould be any Difference among them; and I have ſet over them the beſt Man among them. They are thy Servants; unite them with thy Hand, and make their Affairs proſperous, and make him a good Governour; and ſpread abroad the Doctrine of the Prophet of Mercy, and make his Followers good Men.*

Elmakin ſays, that he was the firſt that gathered together the ſcattered Chapters of the Alcoran, and digeſted them into one Volume. For in *Mahomet*'s Time they were only in looſe and diſperſed Writings. But when in the War which they had with *Moſeilamah*, of which we have already given an Account, a great many of thoſe who could read and repeat the *Alcoran* were killed: *Abubeker* was afraid leſt any part of it ſhould be loſt; and gathered together what was extant in Writing, or what any of the Muſlemans could repeat, and making one Volume of it, called it *Muſhaph*; which in the Arabick Tongue ſignifies a *Book* or *Volume* *; This Book was committed to the Cuſtody of *Haphſah*, *Omar*'s Daughter,

*Abu'lpheda.

Abubeker.

Joannes Andreas.

and one of *Mahomet*'s Wives. But *Joannes Andreas*, who was himſelf a Moor by Birth, and *Alfaqui* or chief Doctor of the Muſlemans in *Sciatinia*, in the Kingdom of *Valencia* in *Spain*, and afterwards converted to the Chriſtian Religion in the Year of our Lord 1487. ſays, that this was not done till the time of *Othman*, the third *Caliph* after *Mahomet*. *Eutychius* in his Annals ſays the ſame. I believe them both to be miſtaken, becauſe I find in * *Abu'l-pheda*, that afterwards when *Othman* came to be *Caliph*, he obſerving the Variety of different Readings which were ſpread abroad, copied this Book which had been delivered to *Haphſah*, and aboliſh'd and deſtroy'd all other Copies which had different Readings from this; obliging all the Mahometans to receive this Copy as the only authentick *Alcoran*. Which Action of his I am fully perſwaded, gave occaſion to ſome to report, that *Othman* was the firſt that gathered the Chapters of it into one Volume; a Piece of Work of that Importance, that it can ſcarcely be believed to have eſcaped the Zeal and Diligence of *Abubeker* and *Omar*.

* Kitâb Almoctaſer phi Acbâri 'l baſhar.

* As

Abubeker.

* Elmakîn.

* As to the Character of this *Caliph*; he was a tall, lean Man, of a ruddy Complection, and a thin Beard, which he used to tinge with such Colours as are frequently used in the Eastern Countries, to make it look more graceful. He never saved any Money in the publick Treasury; but every Friday at Night, distributed what there was among Persons of Merit; to the Soldiers first; and after them, to those that were any other way deserving. His Chastity, Temperance, and Neglect of the Things of this Life, were exemplary. He desired *Ayesha* to take an Account of all that he had gotten since he was *Caliph*, and distribute it among the Muslemans; being resolved not to be enriched by his Preferment, but serve the publick *gratis*; only he took three *Drachmæ* (a Piece of Gold in use among the *Arabs* at that time; the true Value of which is now unknown to us) out of the publick Treasury, as a Reward of his Service. His whole Inventory amounted to the Value of no more than five of those *Drachmæ*; which when *Omar* heard, he said, That *Abubeker* had left his Successor a hard Pattern.

Abubeker.

'Tis uſual with ſome Authors, when they give Characters of great Men, to mention ſome of their Sentences, or wiſe Sayings. The Arabs have not been deficient in this Particular. *Niſaburienſis*, (called ſo from *Niſabour*, the Metropolis of *Choraſan*; as it is moſt common for *Arabick* Authors to be diſtinguiſh'd by the Place of their Birth as much as by their Names) has collected in a little Book the grave and witty Sayings of *Mahomet* and his Succeſſors, and ſome of the Kings of *Perſia*. Among ſome others which he has recorded of *Abubeker*, there are theſe two very remarkable ones; * *Good Actions are a Guard againſt the Blows of Adverſity.* And this; *Death is the eaſieſt* (or leaſt conſiderable) *of all things after it, and the hardeſt of all things before it.*

* Niſabûri, M. S. Arab. Pocock. Num. 62.

He was ſixty three Years old when he died; having reigned two (Lunar) Years, three Months and Nine Days.

OMAR

OMAR EBNO'L CHITAB. Omar.

The ſecond Caliph after *Mahomet*.

Abubeker having taken Care of the Succeſſion by his laſt Teſtament, all that Diſturbance was prevented, which happen'd before upon the Death of *Mahomet*. I do not find in any Author, that *Ali* or his Party made any Oppoſition; but the ſame Day that *Abubeker* died, *Omar* was inveſted with the Regal and Pontifical Dignity, and ſaluted by univerſal Conſent, *The Caliph of the Caliph of the Apoſtle of God*; that is, *The Succeſſor of the Succeſſor of* Mahomet. But when they conſider'd, that this Title was ſomething too long, and that at the coming on of every new Caliph, it would grow longer ſtill, they invented another, which ſhould ſerve for all the Caliphs to come, and that was *Amiro'l Mumenina*; *Imperator Credentium*, *Emperor of the Believers*. Which

Hegjrah 13. A. D. 634.

Elmakin.

Omar. Which afterwards was uſed to the ſucceeding Caliphs; *Omar* being the firſt that was ever called by that Title.

Being thus confirmed in his new Dignity, he goes into the Pulpit, to make a Speech to the People. He did not ſay much; but the Subſtance of it was; *That he ſhould not have taken ſuch a troubleſome Charge upon himſelf, had it not been for the good Opinion that he had of them, and the great Hopes which he had conceived of their Perſeverance in their Duty, and doing that which was commendable and Praiſe-worthy.* Thus the Ceremony being over, which in the Infancy of that Government, whilſt they had not yet attained that Grandeur which their Succeſſors afterwards arrived at, was not very great; every Man went home very well ſatisfy'd.

Omar, having taken upon him the Government, was deſirous of nothing more than to make ſome Conqueſts in *Irâk*; and in order to this, ſends *Abu Obeid* with an Army, joining to him *Almothanna*, *Amrou*, and *Salit*, who marched with their Forces till they came to *Thaalabiyah*, where they pitched their

their Tents juſt by the River. *Salit*, conſidering all things well; and juſtly fearing that the Forces of the *Perſians* were too great for them to encounter withal, did what he could to perſwade *Abu Obeid* not to croſs the River; telling him, that ſince the *Perſians* were apparently too ſtrong for them, it would be more adviſable to reſerve themſelves for a fairer Opportunity, and retire into the Deſarts, and there ſecure themſelves as well as they could, till they had ſent to the Caliph for freſh Supplies. But *Abu Obeid* was ſo far from being perſwaded by what he ſaid, that he called him Coward. *Mathanna* took him up, and told him, that what *Salit* had ſaid, was not the Effect of Cowardice, but that he had told him what he thought the beſt way; adding, that he was alſo of the ſame Opinion himſelf, and bad him have a Care how he paſſed over to the Enemies, for fear he ſhould bring himſelf and thoſe that were with him, into ſuch Danger, as he could not bring them out of again. But *Abu Obeid*, deaf to all good Counſel, and impatient of Delay, forthwith commands a Bridge to be made, and marches over his

Omar.

Omar. his Army. *Salit* and *Mothanna*, tho they did not at all approve of his Conduct, yet having ſpoke what they thought, to no purpoſe, went over after him. The Soldiers follow'd him with an heavy Heart, grieved at the Raſhneſs of their General, which they had juſt reaſon to fear would prove fatal to them.

As ſoon as they were got over the Bridge, *Abu Obeid* put his Men in Battle array, as well as the Shortneſs of the time would permit; for the *Perſian* Archers lay very hard at him, and wounded the Muſlemans grievouſly. However *Abu Obeid* having got ſome part of his Army in tolerable Order, charged the *Perſians* ſo furiouſly, that they could no longer keep their Ground, but ran away. *Abu Obeid* purſued, as being now aſſured of the Victory; but the *Perſians* ralling again, and renewing their Charge, kill'd *Abu Obeid*, and routed the Muſlemans. Thoſe that remain'd of them made up to the Bridge; *Almothanna* all the while behaving himſelf like an experienc'd Captain, fought in the Rear, and brought them off with as little Loſs as could be expected. At laſt they got over the

Bridge

Omar.

Bridge, and *Mothanna* after them; who was no ſooner over, but he order'd the Bridge to be cut down, to prevent the Purſuit of the *Perſians*.

Mothanna having now ſecured himſelf, ſent the Caliph an Account of the whole Matter; and having acquainted him with *Abu Obeid*'s Raſhneſs in paſſing the River with ſo ſmall a Number, contrary to the Judgment of all the Officers, together with the Succeſs which had followed ſo unadviſed an Undertaking, ſtaid expecting further Orders. The Caliph commanded him to ſecure himſelf in his Camp as well as he could, and not ſtir till he ſhould receive the Supplies which he would take Care to raiſe for him with all poſſible Expedition. *Mothanna* obeys the Order; in the mean time the Caliph ſends ſpecial Meſſengers to the Tribes of the *Arabs*, to raiſe Men for the Service, which they ſpeedily perform'd. The new raiſed Soldiers were muſter'd at *Medinah*, and *Jarîr Ebn Abd'llah* was appointed their General, and ſent with Orders to join *Mothanna* and the reſt of the Forces, and, as Opportunity ſhould ſerve, give Battle to the *Perſians*. *Jarîr* being come to *Thaalabiyah*, where the reſt

Omar.

reſt of the Army was, they march'd to *Dir Hind*, where they encamped, and made frequent Excurſions, plundering and deſtroying that Part of *Irâk*, which lies next the River *Euphrates*. *Arzemidocht*, Queen of the *Perſians*, perceiving the great Damage which ſhe every Day receiv'd from the *Arabian* Army, thought it high time to look about her, and out of all the Chevalry, choſe twelve thouſand of the beſt Horſe, and appointing *Mahran* General of them, ſent them to repreſs the Inſolencies and Outrages of the *Arabs*. They marched till they came to *Hirah*; where the *Arabians*, having called back thoſe Troops which were gone to forrage, met them. Both Armies were immediately joined. *Mothanna* fought amongſt the thickeſt of the *Perſians*, and was gotten into the midſt of their Army, but bravely recovered himſelf, and returned to his own Men. The *Perſians* behaved themſelves ſo well, that ſome of the *Arabs* gave Ground. *Mothanna* perceiving his *Arabs* flinch, tore his Beard; labouring as much as in him lay, to ſtay the Flight of his Men, and reſtore the Battle, which he did in a great meaſure: And then began a moſt

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moſt furious Engagement, which laſted from Noon till Sun-ſet, neither Party giving way, or retreating. 'Tis hard to gueſs which Side would have prevail'd, had not the Death of *Mahran* determined it; for *Mothanna* meeting him in the Battle, they fought Hand to Hand. *Mahran* ſtruck at *Mothanna*, but his Sword did not pierce his Armour: Then immediately *Mothanna* gave him ſuch a Blow upon his Shoulder, that he fell down dead. The *Perſians* having loſt their General, were quite diſheartned, quitted the Field, and fled to *Madayen*. The *Arabs* contented with their Victory, did not purſue them far, but returned to cure their wounded Men, and bury their dead.

The *Perſian* Nobility perceiving the Saracens every way too hard for them, and that they had now made themſelves Maſters of the Borders of their Country, and were very likely to get more, began to be very uneaſy, and laid all the Blame upon their Queen, *Arzemidocht*. 'Tis very common in thoſe Eaſtern Countries to meaſure things by the Succeſs; and if things go ill, neither the Grand Signior himſelf, nor the Sultan of *Perſia*, nor the Emperor

Omar.

ror of the *Moguls*, can be ſecured from the Murmurs, and oftentimes Mutinies of their Subjects; who, tho things be managed with all the Care and Circumſpection that Human Capacity can be Maſter of, yet if the Succeſs does not anſwer their Expectation, never fail to complain of Male-Adminiſtration, and repreſent their Princes as Perſons unfit for Government, either for want of Abilities, or elſe becauſe they look upon them to be *unlucky* and *unfortunate*, in which Matter the Eaſtern Nations are extremely ſuperſtitious. This the Queen experienc'd, for after this Battle was loſt, and things went ill on all ſides, the next thing they ſaid, was, *This we get by ſuffering a Woman to rule over us*; as if all their Misfortunes had been owing to her Miſmanagement; or, as if they might not have met with the ſame ill Succeſs, under the Government of the wiſeſt Prince in the World. However they conſider'd nothing of this, but reſolv'd to depoſe the poor Queen: Which they did, and placed *Yazdejerd* upon the Throne in her ſtead, who was a young Man of the Royal Family, deſcended from *Coſroes* the Son of *Hormiſdas*. But they did not

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not much mend the Matter, for the Government of this new King of theirs was more inauſpicious than that of the Queen could be; for in her Reign, the Confines of the Empire were only invaded, but in his, all was entirely loſt, and the whole Kingdom and Country of the *Perſians* fell into the Hands of the Muſlemans.

Yazdejerd being King, forthwith raiſed an Army out of the ſeveral Provinces of his Kingdom, and made *Ruſtam* their General, who was deſcended of a noble Family, and had Years and Experience ſufficient to recommend him to ſuch a Poſt. *Yazdejerd* gave him Orders to march directly to *Hirah*, where the *Arabs* lay; and at the ſame time ſent another great Army, under the Command of *Alharzaman*, a *Perſian* Nobleman, to *Ehwàs*, where *Abu Muſa Alaſhari*, another of *Omar*'s Captains, lay forraging and ſpoiling the Country. But all to no Purpoſe: The *Perſians*, as if the Period of their Empire was at Hand, could have no Succeſs, but were forced to ſubmit to the riſing Greatneſs of the Saracenical Empire. Both theſe *Perſian* Generals were killed, and both the Armies entirely routed and defeated.

Omar.

Abu'lpharagius, from whom I have taken this Account of the Tranſactions relating to *Peſia*, is miſtaken two Years, as to the time in which they were done; for he places them at the Beginning of *Omar*'s Reign, which, as we have ſhown before, was in the Year of our Lord ſix hundred and thirty four. Now 'tis very well known that the *Perſian* Æra (which they uſe to this Day) bears Date from the beginning of that Year, in which this ſame *Yazdejerd*, the laſt of the *Perſian* Kings, came to the Crown; which was,* as is confeſs'd on all Hands, the 16th Day of *June*, in the Year of our Lord ſix hundred and thirty two. However, ſince *Abu'lpharagius* has placed theſe Actions in *Omar*'s Life, I have contented my ſelf with giving the Reader this Hint, and followed that Author in this Particular; eſpecially, becauſe I could not find any Place ſo proper for the interrupting the Hiſtory of *Syria*, as the Taking of *Damaſcus*, and the Death of *Abubeker*; which both happening at the ſame time, (according to *Alwákidi*, who differs in that Particular from other Authors) made a ſort of a Period, and gave me a fair Opportunity of inſerting whatever was

* Golius's *Notes upon* Alferganus, *p.* 30. Gravij Epochæ Celebriores.

Omar.

was done by the Saracens in any other Country within that Compaſs of time.

Alwákidi.

And now the Series of our Hiſtory requires us to return to the *Damaſcens*, whom we left juſt at that time when *Abu Obeidah* had with great Intreaty ſcarcely prevailed with *Caled* to ratify the Articles which he had made with the Beſieged. Having obtain'd it at laſt with much ado, he told them, that they were at their Liberty to go where they pleas'd; but when they were out of the Bounds of that Part of the Country, which was taken by the Muſlemans, they were alſo out of their Protection, and free from any Article or Agreement whatſoever. The Chriſtians not content with this, deſired their Protection for the Space of three Days, which way ſoever they went, and that none of the Saracens ſhould purſue them during that time; after which they muſt be content to take their Fortune. To which Propoſal *Caled* conſented, but told them withal, that they ſhould carry nothing with them out of the City, but Proviſion; which provoked *Abu Obeidah* afreſh, who anſwer'd, that to uſe them ſo, would ſtill be a Breach of Promiſe, he having engaged to

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give them leave to go out with Bag and Baggage. *Then*, ſaid *Caled*, *if they have that, they ſhall have no Arms.* To which *Herbîs* anſwered, that they muſt have Arms, it being impoſſible for them to travel ſafely without. *Abu Obeidah* ſaid, *Then let every one of them have ſomething; he that has a Lance ſhall have no Sword, and he that takes a Bow, ſhall have no Lance*; with which they were pretty well contented. *Thomas* and *Herbîs* were the Captains of this unhappy Caravan, who had now loſt all but what they could carry away; and inſtead of lofty and ſtately Palaces, pleaſant Gardens and delicious Fare, muſt be glad to ſhift about where they can, and expoſe themſelves to all the Difficulties and Hazards of a tedious Journey, without any Regard had to Age, Sex or Degree. The tender and delicate Lady that once ſcarce knew how to ſet her Foot upon the Ground, muſt now be forc'd to go through inhoſpitable Deſarts and craggy Mountains, deprived not only of her Superfluities, but of all the Conveniences, and even the very Neceſſaries of Life. *Thomas* pitched a Tent on the Out-ſide of the City, and ordered his Men to bring the beſt of the things, the Plate, Jewels, Silk,

Silk, and the like, into it, in order to pack them up, and carry them away. The Emperor *Heraclius* had then in *Damaſcus* a Wardrobe, in which there were above 300 Loads of dyed Silks and Cloath of Gold, which were all pack'd up. The poor miſerable Wretches took every one what they could any way carry, of the beſt things they had, and made all poſſible Haſte to be gone. *Damaſcus*, once their Joy and Delight, could now no more be thought on without the utmoſt Regret. The Emperor *Heraclius* his Daughter went out among the reſt, which followed *Thomas* and *Herbis*. *Derar* (who was vex'd at his Heart becauſe *Abu Obeidah* had let them come off ſo well) ſtood by as they went out, and gnaſh'd his Teeth for Spight and Indignation. The Princeſs thought that the Reaſon of his Anger was becauſe of the Spoil, and ſaid to him as ſhe paſſed by, *What's the Reaſon*, Derar, *that you mutter thus? Don't you know that* * *with God there are more and better things than theſe are?* *Derar* ſwore, *that it was not the Plunder that he valued; but what vexed him was the Peoples eſcaping, and not being all murder'd*; adding, that *Abu Obeidah* had

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* *Arab.* Ind'allah.

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had done a great Injury to the Muſlemans, in giving them Quarter. *Athi Ebn Ammâr* hearing him ſay ſo, anſwered, That *Abu Obeidah had done for the beſt, in preventing the Effuſion of the Blood of the Muſlemans, (the moſt ſacred thing under the Sun) and giving them Reſt from their Labours. Beſides, God has made the Hearts of the true Believers the Seat of Mercy, and thoſe of the Infidels the Seat of Cruelty: And God has ſaid in ſome of the inſpired Books, that he was moſt merciful; and that he would not ſhew Mercy, but only to the merciful.* Then he quoted a Paſſage in the *Alcoran*, to prove to him that * *Agreement* was *Better*. *Derar* told him, that he talk'd like an honeſt Man, but he ſwore, that for his part *he would never have Mercy upon any, that ſaid that God had a Son, and joined a Partner with God.* *Thomas* and *Herbîs* paid *Abu Obeidah* what they had bargained with him for, as the Redemption of their Lives and Liberties; and then thoſe of them who choſe to ſtay behind, and be Tributaries, ſtaid; the reſt, which were by far the greater Number, went away: Whom we muſt leave upon their March awhile, and prepare our Ears for a very remarkable Relation.

* Alcoran, *Chap.* IV. 27. Aſſúlh ho Chairon.

Caled,

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Caled, O bloody and inſatiable Saracen! ſaw theſe poor Wretches carry away the ſmall Remainder of their plentiful Fortunes, with a great deal of Regret: So mortally did he hate the Chriſtians, that to ſee any of them alive, was Death to him. What does he do? Why! he orders his Men to keep themſelves and their Horſes well; and told them, that after the three Days were expir'd, (for they had Security for that time) he deſigned to purſue them; and ſaid, that his Mind gave him, that they ſhould ſtill overtake them, and have all the Plunder: For, ſays he, they have left nothing valuable behind them, but have taken all the beſt of their Cloaths, and Plate, and Jewels, and whatever is worth carrying along with them. Having thus prepared for his Journey, there happened another Controverſy between him and the Townſmen that ſtaid behind, concerning a great Quantity of Wheat and Barley. The Townſmen which had ſurrender'd to *Abu Obeidah*, ſaid, that it belong'd to them; *Caled* ſaid, that it was his, (and indeed ſo was every thing elſe of the Chriſtians that he could lay his Hands upon.)

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Abu Obeidah, who was always more courteous to the Chriſtians, than could have been expected from a Saracen, took the Citizens Part. The Contention grew ſo high, that they had like once more to have fallen together by the Ears, till at laſt they determin'd to write to *Abubeker* about it, not having yet receiv'd the News of his Death. This Diſturbance detain'd *Caled* from purſuing the poor *Damaſcens*; for there were now four Days and as many Nights paſs'd ſince they went away, and there were but little Hopes of overtaking them; for he was well aſſur'd, that aſſoon as poſſibly they could they would ſecure themſelves in ſome walled Town; ſo that he had quite laid aſide the Thoughts of following them, had it not been for a very unfortunate Circumſtance, which was thus:

The Reader may be pleaſed to remember, that *Derar Ben Alazwâr*, during the Siege, had two thouſand Men given him to ride round about, and ſurvey the Camp, leſt they ſhould be ſurpris'd, either by any Succours from the Emperor, or Sallies from the Town. It chanc'd one Night, as ſome of theſe Men

Men were upon Duty, they heard a Horſe neigh, which came out of the Gate *Keiſân*. They ſtood ſtill, and let him alone till he came up cloſe to them, and took his Rider Priſoner. Immediately after, there came another Horſeman out of the ſame Gate; which called the Man, who was taken Priſoner, by his Name. The Saracens bad him anſwer him, that he might come up, and they might take him too. But inſtead of that, he ſpoke out aloud in Greek, *The Bird is taken.* The Perſon he ſpoke to underſtood his Meaning very well, and return'd back into the City. The Saracens could not tell what he ſaid; only they knew that they had loſt another Priſoner by the means: Upon which they had like to have killed him, but upon better Conſideration they reſolved to carry him to the General *Caled*, that he might diſpoſe of him as he pleaſed. *Caled* asked him, what he was? *I am*, ſaid he, *a Nobleman, and I married a young Lady, which I lov'd as my Life; and when I ſent for her home, her Parents gave a ſlight Anſwer, and ſaid, That they had ſomething elſe to do. Wherefore I took a convenient Opportunity of*

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of ſpeaking with her, and we agreed to come out in the Evening, and give a good round Sum of Money to him that was upon the Guard that Night. I coming out firſt, was ſurpriz'd by your Men, and to prevent her falling into your Hands, I call'd out, The Bird is taken, *She apprehending my Meaning, went back with the two Servants that were with her; and who can blame me! Well,* ſaid *Caled, and what have you to ſay to the Mahometan Religion? If you like that, when we take the City, you ſhall have your Wife: If not, you are a dead Man.* The poor Wretch being ſurpriz'd, and not having Faith enough to die a Martyr, renounc'd his Chriſtianity, and made Confeſſion of his Mahometaniſm in theſe Words; *I teſtify, That there is but one God; he has no Partner; and* Mahomet *is the Apoſtle of God.* Then he was entirely theirs, and uſed to fight among them valiantly. When the City was ſurrender'd, he went with all ſpeed to find his Beloved. Upon Enquiry, he receiv'd Information, that ſhe had ſhut her ſelf up in a Nunnery; which was true enough. For ſhe never expected to ſee him more, after he was once fallen into the Hands of the *Saracens*; and ſince all her Joy and

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Delight in this World was gone, ſhe reſolv'd to ſpend the reſt of her Days in the Contemplation of a better. He goes to the Church where ſhe was, expecting to be received with abundance of Joy; in which he was very much deceived: For when he had asked her the Reaſon why ſhe turn'd Nun; and ſhe had told him; he no ſooner made himſelf known, and acquainted her with the Change of his Religion, but ſhe treated him with the utmoſt Contempt and Averſion, worthily thinking that he ought himſelf to be renounc'd by her, who had firſt renounced his Chriſtianity; nor would the Remembrance of former Love, nor the Conſideration of that Extremity which had oblig'd him to it, move her, nor beget in her one charitable Thought towards him; but ſhe ſtill continued firm in her Reſolution to bid adieu to all the Enjoyments of this preſent Life, and never converſe with him any more. Wherefore, when *Thomas* and *Herbîs*, attended with the reſt of the miſerable *Damaſcens*, went away, ſhe went along with them. Her Departure wounded her Husband (*Jonas*) to the Heart: He was very inſtant with

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with *Caled* to detain her by Force; who anſwer'd, *That ſince they had ſurrender'd themſelves, it could not be done; but they muſt all of them have free Liberty to go where they pleaſed.* Here then is the main Spring of this Action. As ſoon as *Jonas* underſtood that *Caled* had a Deſign of purſuing the *Damaſcens*, he was very forward, and teaz'd him to go, and profer'd his Service to be their Guide. But, as we have ſaid before, *Caled*, who was willing to purſue them after three Days were expired, being oblig'd to ſtay longer upon the account of the Controverſy concerning the Corn, thought four Days too much Advantage on their ſide, and had infallibly laid aſide the Thoughts of it, if it had not been for the inceſſant Importunity of this damn'd Apoſtate, who was reſolv'd to gratify his own Humor, tho it were by betraying into the Hands of mercileſs and unrelenting Saracens, Thouſands of his innocent Countrymen, Women, and Children, who had already labour'd under the Calamities and Diſtreſſes of a conſuming War. However nothing would ſatisfy him but this Woman; and when *Caled* told him they were too far gone,

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gone, he never ceas'd ſpurring him forwards, telling him, *That he knew all the Country, and how to follow them the neareſt way; and whatever elſe he could think on to encourage the Undertaking.* *Caled*, who was not backwards of himſelf to go about any thing that afforded the leaſt proſpect of Succeſs, yielded to his Importunity, and ſo the Journey was concluded upon.

Caled choſe out 4000 of the beſt Horſe, which *Jonas* order'd to be cloath'd in the Habit of Chriſtian *Arabs*; that being to travel in the Enemies Country, they might paſs unſuſpected. Then, committing the Care of the Town and Army to *Abu Obeidah*, they departed. It was no hard Matter to follow ſuch a great Multitude of People as went out of *Damaſcus*; for beſides that the Footſteps of their Mules were viſible enough, they ſcattered things enough in their haſty Flight, to direct thoſe who came after which way to purſue. The Saracens kept riding Night and Day, and never ſtood ſtill, but only in Prayer-time. For a long time together they could trace them very plainly; but at laſt there appeared no Footſteps at all, nor any

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any Signs by which they might make any Gueſs which way they were gone. *What's the News now?* ſaid *Caled* to *Jonas*. *Oh*, ſays he, *they are turn'd out of the great Road, for fear of being purſu'd: You are in a manner as ſure of them, as if you had already taken them.* So he turns them out of the high Road, and leads them among the Mountains, where it was very bad travelling. The Way was ſo extreamly rough and uneven, that they could not ride without the greateſt Hazard. The Horſes ſtruck Fire at every ſtep, they beat off their Shooes, and batter'd their Hoofs to Pieces, that it was almoſt impoſſible for them to travel. They were forced to alight from their Horſes, and then they could ſcarce get forwards on Foot, and thoſe who had ſtrong Boots on, well ſoal'd with Iron, had the Soals torn off from the Upper-Leathers. The Saracens who had been us'd to a great many Hardſhips, began to be extremely uneaſy, and wiſhed themſelves again in the right Road. In ſhort, every Man was heartily tired, but the indefatigable Lover. *Caled* himſelf could not tell what to think on't; but complain'd to *Jonas*, and told him, that

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that it was all his doing. At laſt they perceiv'd a great many Footſteps, which made them imagine that the People were gone before them. The Guide told *Caled*, that he was ſure they could not be far before, becauſe the Dung of their Horſes was not yet dry. Upon this *Caled* call'd to his Men, to mend their Pace; but they told him, they were quite tired and worn out, and muſt of neceſſity ſtay and bait a while before they went any further. When they had refreſhed their Horſes, they kept going on; and where-ever they paſſed, the Country People miſtook them for Chriſtian *Arabs*. The Guide brought them to *Jabalah* and *Laodicea*; but they durſt not paſs through thoſe Towns, for fear of being diſcover'd. *Jonas* at laſt enquir'd of a Country-man; who told them, that the Emperor hearing that the *Damaſcens* were upon their March towards *Antioch*, was fearful leſt by their coming, and giving a terrible Account of the Sharpneſs of the Siege, and the Courage of the Saracens, thoſe about him ſhould be diſhearten'd; and had therefore ſent an Expreſs to forbid their coming any nearer to *Antioch*, and

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and commanded them to go to *Conſtantinople*. He told him alſo, that the Emperor was raiſing Forces to ſend
Sept. 1. 634. to *Yermouk*. When *Jonas* had received this Intelligence, he was at a Loſs, and could not tell what to do. *Caled* enquired of him what News? and he told him how it was, and that there was no hope of ever overtaking them; and beſides, there was but one Mountain between them and that Place where the Emperor's Officers were raiſing Forces to ſend againſt them. As ſoon as *Caled* heard him mention the Forces, he turn'd as pale as Aſhes. *Derar*, who had never obſerved in him any Signs of Fear before in all his Life-time, ask'd him, what was the Matter? *Alas*, ſays he, *'tis not that I fear Death, or any thing that may befall my ſelf, but becauſe I am afraid leſt the Emperor's Forces ſhould get to* Damaſcus, *and do our People ſome Miſchief in my Abſence; eſpecially remembring a Dream which I had not long ſince, and I cannot tell the Meaning of it.* One of the Men asked him what it was? When he had told him, *Abdo'rrahmân*, Soldier like, interpreted it all in Favour of the Saracens. So they continued their March,

March, and there fell abundance of Rain that Night, which put them to a great deal of Inconvenience, but the poor *Damaſcens* to much more. In the Morning, after a tedious March, the *Damaſcens* found a pleaſant Meadow, and the Sun ſhined comfortably upon them. Glad of this Opportunity, they ſat down to reſt their weary Limbs, and ſpread out their wet Cloaths to dry them. A great many of them, quite tired and fatigued, lay down to ſleep. Omar. Alwâkidi.

In this Poſture the Saracens found them. As ſoon as *Caled* underſtood the Matter, he divided his four thouſand Men into four Regiments. The firſt was commanded by *Derar Ebn Alazwâr*; the ſecond by *Raphi Ebn Omeirah*; the third by *Abdo'rrahmân*, *Abubeker*'s Son. *Caled* himſelf brought up the fourth, having firſt charged the Officers, that they ſhould not make their Appearance all at once, but leave a little ſpace one between the other, which was a very proper way to ſtrike Terror into the *Damaſcens*; and was frequently uſed by the Saracens, both in their Field-Fights, and when they came to inveſt any Town. He bad them

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not begin till they ſaw him fall on firſt, and not touch any of the Plunder till the Fight was over. The ſight of the Meadow was ſo pleaſant and diverting, eſpecially after they had been ſo harraſt with that diſmal Journey thro' the Rocks and Mountains, that they had like to have forgot what they came about. There they ſaw the purling Streams, the fine Flowers, and unſpeakable Variety of rich Silks of all ſorts of Colours, curiouſly wrought, ſpread all over the Meadow; all which together afforded them a very entertaining Proſpect, extreamly delightful and refreſhing. After a little Pauſe, *Caled* began the Attack, more like a Lion or a Tyger than a Man, and bad his Men fall upon the Enemies of God. The Chriſtians quickly knew who they were, but ſeeing but a few of them at firſt, deſpiſed the Smalneſs of their Number, and prepared to fight. *Thomas* and *Herbis* encouraged their Men, and put them in as good Order as the time would permit. *Thomas* engaged *Caled* with five thouſand Men, and after a ſharp Diſpute was killed, and his Men routed. As ſoon as *Abdo'rrahmân* ſaw *Thomas* fall from his

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his Horſe, he alighted, and cut off his Head, and put it upon the Point of the Standard of the Croſs, and ſaid, *Alas for you, you Grecian Dogs, here's your Maſter's Head.*

Whilſt they were thus engaged, it is no hard Matter to gueſs what was become of *Jonas*: He was engag'd too, but after a different manner, being among the Women, in Search of his Lady. *Raphi Ebn Omeirah* came up that way, and ſaw him and his Lady fighting; and at laſt he threw her violently againſt the Ground, and took her Priſoner. Whilſt *Raphi* was making up to them, the Women ſtood upon their Defence, and pelted him with Stones. At laſt a young Lady happen'd to hit his Horſe in the Forehead, and killed him. *Raphi* ran after her with his Sword drawn, and was juſt about ſtriking her Head off, but ſhe cry'd, *Quarter*; ſo he took her Priſoner. She was a Perſon of no leſs Dignity than the Emperor's Daughter, and *Thomas*'s Wife; a Princeſs of incomparable Features, richly dreſs'd, and had a great many Jewels about her Head. When *Raphi* had diſpos'd of this rich Priſoner, he came to the Place where *Jonas* was, and

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found him bath'd in Tears, and his Lady weltring in Blood. *Raphi* enquiring what was the Matter? *Jonas* wrung his Hands, and ſaid, *Alas for me, the moſt miſerable Man in the World! I came to this Woman, which I loved above all things in this Life, and would fain have perſwaded her to return with me; but ſhe continuing obſtinate becauſe I had chang'd my Religion, and vowing ſhe would go to* Conſtantinople, *and there end her Days in a Nunnery, I reſolv'd if I could not perſwade her by fair Means, to make my ſelf Maſter of her by Force: So I threw her down, and took her Priſoner. When ſhe ſaw that ſhe was in my Power, ſhe ſat quietly a while, and ſecretly drawing out a Knife, ſtabb'd her ſelf in the Breaſt before I was aware, and fell down dead immediately.* *Raphi* hearing this lamentable Story, wept too, and ſaid, *God did not deſign that you ſhould live with her, and therefore has provided better for you.* *What's that?* ſaid *Jonas.* *I'll ſhow you,* anſwered *Raphi, a Priſoner I have taken, a Perſon of admirable Beauty, and richly dreſs'd, which I will preſent to you to recompence your Loſs.* When they came together, *Jonas* and the Princeſs talk'd together in *Greek,*

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Greek, and *Raphi* freely gave her to him.

In the mean time *Caled* was employed in the Search of *Herbîs*. At laſt he ſaw a huge tall Man richly dreſs'd, which he imagined at firſt to have been the ſame, and beat him down to the Ground with his Lance, ſaying, *Alas for thee*, Herbîs, *didſt thou think to eſcape me?* The Man could ſpeak *Arabick* well, and told him, that he was not *Herbîs*, but another; and if he would ſpare him, he would give him more than he was aware of. *No Quarter*, ſays *Caled*, *unleſs you direct me to* Herbis, *that I may kill him; and if ſo, I ſhall let you go your way without any Ranſom. Well*, ſays the Man, *I'll tell you; but make firſt a firm Agreement with me, that if I ſhew you where he is, you will let me go. Yes*, ſays *Calid*, *if he falls into my Hands. This is one of your Tricks*, ſaid the Chriſtian, *ſo you gave us Security and Protection, and then afterwards followed us to this Place, when we never expected any one ſhould have purſu'd us; and now you tell me, that if* Herbis *falls into your Hands, you will let me go. I can tell you where he is, but how can I promiſe that?* At this *Caled* was angry, and ſaid,

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Thou Chriſtian Dog! doſt thou accuſe us of Breach of Promiſe, who are the Companions of the Apoſtle of God? When we promiſe any thing, we are as good as our Word. We did not come out after you, till the fourth Day was expired. The Chriſtian deſired him to get off from him, that he might ſhew him where *Herbîs* was; for *Caled*, when he had beaten him down, ſat upon him all the while. Then he look'd about, and ſhew'd him a Party of Horſe at a Diſtance, and told him, that *Herbîs* was among them. *Caled*, upon this, called a Saracen to him, and bad him take Care of the Chriſtian; and if *Herbîs* was among that Company, he ſhould let him go, but if he was caught in a Lye, he ſhould ſtrike his Head off. When *Caled* came thither, he alighted, and betoōk himſelf to his Sword and Target; and whilſt he was fighting among the thickeſt of the Chriſtians, *Herbîs* came behind him, and gave him ſuch a Blow, that he cleav'd his Helmet through to his Turbant, and with the Violence of the Stroak, his Sword fell out of his Hand. About this time, *Caled*'s Men came in timely to his Aſſiſtance, and fell upon the Chriſtians, and

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and cut them all to Pieces. When they had now entirely ruin'd and deſtroy'd thoſe miſerable Creatures, which had eſcaped at the taking of *Damaſcus*, *Caled* called for the Man that had ſhewn him the way to *Herbîs*, and told him, that ſince he had perform'd what he had promis'd to them, they would do the ſame to him; only they were obliged to exhort and admoniſh him firſt: Wherefore he ask'd him, whether he could find in his Heart to become *one of the Faſting and Praying People, the Followers of* Mahomet? Upon his refuſing to change his Religion, they diſmiſs'd him, and he took the Road towards *Conſtantinople*, being the only Perſon that the Saracens knew of, that eſcaped the being killed or taken Priſoner, of all that numerous Train that followed *Thomas* and *Herbîs* out of the Gates of *Damaſcus*.

Caled, when he came back, ask'd *Jonas* what was become of his Wife? who gave him an Account of that diſmal Story, which we have already related. Hearing that the Princeſs was taken Priſoner, he commanded her to be brought into his Preſence; and when he beheld her excellent Beauty,

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comely Proportion and agreeable Mien, he turned away his Head, and ſaid, *Glory be to thee, O God! we praiſe thee, who createſt what thou pleaſeſt.* Then he told *Jonas*, that if the Emperor did not redeem her, he ſhould have her: *Jonas* accepted his Preſent very thankfully, and withal told him, that they were in a ſtreight narrow Place, and that it was high time to be marching; for they might be ſure that what they had done was noiſed about the Country, and it would not be long before they ſhould be purſued. Before they got back to *Damaſcus*, they ſaw a great Duſt behind them. Upon which *Caled* diſpatches a Scout, to enquire what was the Matter? Who quickly diſcover'd the Croſſes in the Colours, and brought him Word: But, contrary to the Expectation of the Saracens. there was no Hoſtility intended; only there came an old Man from among the Chriſtians, who being at his Requeſt conducted to the General, begg'd of him, in the Emperor's Name, to diſmiſs the Princeſs his Daughter. *Caled* having advis'd with *Jonas* about it, conſented to let her go; and ſaid to the Old Man, *Tell your Maſter that there will never be*

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any Peace between him and me, till I have gotten every Foot of Land he has; and tho I have ſent him his Daughter now, I hope to have him inſtead of her one of theſe Days.

It was not long before they came to *Damaſcus*, where they were ſo much the more welcome, becauſe their long Abſence had made their Friends there deſpair of their Return. Old *Abu Obeidah* was ſurpriz'd at *Caled*'s Valour. *Caled*, reſerving a fifth part of the Spoils to be ſent to the Caliph, and put into the publick Treaſury, according to their Precept in the * *Alcoran*, diſtributed the reſt among the Soldiers. He gave *Jonas* a good round Sum to buy him a Wife withal: But *Jonas* anſwered him in a very melancholy Tone, that he would never entertain any ſuch Thoughts again in this World, but his next Wife ſhould be one of thoſe black-ey'd Women mention'd in the † *Alcoran*. He continued among the Saracens, and was ſerviceable to them; till at laſt at the Battle of *Yermouk*, he was ſhot in the Breaſt. Thus fell the Apoſtate. However my Author, for the Encouragement of new Proſelytes, (for more ſorts of People than one will lye

* Surato'l Auphâl. *Chap.* VIII. 15.

† *Chap.* LII. 19. LVI. 22.

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lye for Religion) tells us, that after he was dead, he was ſeen in a Viſion by *Raphi Ebn Omeirah* very richly cloathed, and with gold Shooes upon his Feet, walking in a moſt beautiful verdant Meadow; and when *Raphi* asked him what God had done for him? *Jonas* anſwered, that he had given him ſeventy young Women, ſo bright and beautiful, that if any one of them ſhould appear in this World, the Sun and Moon could not be ſeen for the Reſplendency of her Beauty. When *Caled* heard of this Viſion, he ſaid, *This it is to be a Martyr, happy is he that attains to it.*

Caled, not having yet receiv'd Advice of *Abubeker*'s Death, wrote a Letter to him, to acquaint him with the taking of *Damaſcus*, the Controverſy between him and *Abu Obeidah*, and the Recovery of the Spoil which the *Damaſcens* had carried away. The Meſſenger being come to *Medinah*, wondered to find *Omar* in *Abubeker*'s ſtead; and *Omar* finding the Letter directed to *Abubeker*, wonder'd the Saracens in *Syria* ſhould be ſtill ignorant of the Alteration in the Government, and told the Meſſenger, that he had written to *Abu Obeidah* about it, and given him the chief Command

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mand over the Muſlemans in *Syria*, and depoſed *Caled*, tho he thought that *Abu Obeidah* was not fond of that Employ. The truth of it is, *Abu Obeidah* had receiv'd the Letter, but kept it private; for being a very modeſt Man, and one that had not the leaſt Spark of Ambition in him, he was very unwilling to take the Commiſſion out of *Caled*'s Hands: Wherefore he took no Notice of it to him, nor ſaid any thing to hinder his writing to the Caliph, after his Return from the Purſuit of the *Damaſcens*. *Omar* liked *Abu Obeidah* for his Piety, but had no Opinion at all of *Caled*. One Day as he was ſpeaking to the People from the Pulpit, (as it was uſual for the Caliphs then to talk about what concern'd the Publick, in a very familiar manner) he mention'd the taking away *Caled*'s Commiſſion, and conferring that Charge upon *Abu Obeidah*. A young Man that was preſent, took the Freedom of telling him, that he wonder'd he would deprive ſuch a Perſon as had been the Inſtrument of ſo good Succeſs to the Muſlemans; and that when *Abubeker* was moved by ſome about him to depoſe him, his Anſwer was, *That he would not lay aſide, nor ſheath that Sword, which*

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which God had drawn for the Aſſiſtance of the true Religion: And withal told *Omar*, That if he did it, he muſt anſwer it to God. *Omar* made but very little Anſwer, but came down from the Pulpit, and conſider'd of it that Night. The next Day he came again, and told them, that ſince the Care and Charge of the Muſlemans was committed to him, he thought himſelf oblig'd to take the beſt Care of them he could, as one that muſt give an Account; and for that Reaſon was reſolv'd to diſpoſe of Places of Truſt to ſuch as deſerv'd them, and not to ſuch as did not: That he would give the Command of the Army to *Abû Obeidah*, whom he knew to be a Man of a tender and gentle Diſpoſition, and one that would be kind to the Muſlemans: That he did not approve of *Caled*, becauſe he was prodigal and extravagant; adding, *I would not have your Enemies think that it is ever the better for them, becauſe I have depos'd a fierce Man, and put a mild one in his Place; for God will be with him, and aſſiſt and ſtrengthen him.* Then he came down from the Pulpit, and took a Sheet of Parchment, and wrote to *Abu Obeidah* a large Letter, full of good Advice. He told

told him, that the had given him the chief Command of the Army, and bad him not be too modeſt; and that he ſhould take care not to expoſe the Muſlemans to Danger, in hopes of getting Plunder. By which laſt Words he very plainly grated upon *Caled*'s following the *Damaſcens* into the Enemies Country. He charged him not to be deceived with this preſent World, and by that means periſh, as a great many had done before him, and bad him look upon thoſe who had gone before, and aſſure himſelf, that he muſt follow them. Then he adds, *As for the Wheat and Barley, it belongs to the Muſlemans, and ſo does the Gold and Silver, but there muſt be a* * *fifth taken out of it. As for the Controverſy between you and* Caled, *concerning the City's being ſurrendered or taken by the Sword; it was ſurrendered. You muſt have it your way: You are Commander in chief, and have the Power of determining that Matter. If the Townſmen did ſurrender, upon Condition that they ſhould have the Wheat and Barley, let them have it. As for* Caled's *purſuing the* Damaſcens, *it was a raſh Undertaking; and if God had not been the more merciful, you had not come off ſo well.*

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* Alcoran, Chap. VIII. 15.

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well. Then, the taking the Emperor's Daughter, and letting her go unranſomed, was prodigally done. You might have had a large Sum of Money for her, which would have done a Kindneſs among the poor Muſlemans. Farewell, &c.

Having ſeal'd it up, he call'd *Shaddâd Ebn Aus*, and order'd him, that as ſoon as he came to the Army, he ſhould, after the Letter was read, cauſe the Muſlemans to proclaim him *Caliph* in *Damaſcus*, and bad him be his Repreſentative. *Shaddâd Ben Aus* and *Amrou Ben Abi Wakkâs* made what haſt they could to *Damaſcus*, and came to *Caled*'s Tent, and paid their Reſpects, and told him how the Government was diſpos'd of, and that they had a Letter from the *Caliph*, which was to be read in the hearing of the Muſlemans. *Caled* did not like that very well, for he knew that *Omar* was not well affected towards him. They all wept when they heard of *Abubeker*'s Death. *Caled* ſwore, *That tho there was nothing upon the Earth dearer to him than* Abubeker; * *nor that he had a greater*

* *I am in great doubt, whether I have render'd theſe Words* (nor that he had a greater Averſion to than to *Omar*) *right, according to the Senſe of the Original; but being now at a great diſtance from the Manuſcript, I am forced to follow my foul Copy.*

Aver-

Averſion to than to Omar. *But ſince* Abubeker *was dead, and had appointed* Omar *his Succeſſor, he was very willing to ſubmit to God and to* Omar. Then the Letter was read, and the ſame day † being the firſt of *October*, in the Year of our Lord 634, *Shaddâd* was proclaim'd *Caliph* at *Damaſcus* in *Omar*'s ſtead. Upon this *Caled* reſigns his Commiſſion, and *Abu Obeidah* takes the whole Charge of the Army, and all the Affairs of the Muſlemans in *Syria* upon himſelf. *Abu Obeidah* was afraid that *Caled* would have taken Diſguſt at his Removal; and, (which is generally the Effect of want of Encouragement) have been remiſs in his Buſineſs; but he made the contrary appear ſufficiently, in that great Action perform'd at *Dair Abi'l Kodos*; or, *The Monaſtery of the Holy Father.*

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† Hegjrah 13. A. D. 634. *I take the Liberty as to this Date to differ from my Manuſcript, which ſays, that* Shaddâd *was proclaim'd in* Damaſcus, *in the 14th Year of the* Hegjrah, *which anſwers to the Year of our Lord* 635. *But all the Circumſtances make it plain that it could not be done ſo late. For* Abubeker (*according to* Elmakîn) *died the* 23*d of* Auguſt, 634. *and, according to* Alwâkidi, Damaſcus *was taken the ſame Night that* Abubeker *died.* Caled's *Letter was ſent as ſoon as he return'd from purſuing the* Damaſcens; *and* Omar *wrote his Anſwer ſoon after. Wherefore* Shaddâd *could not be proclaim'd* Caliph, *on the third of* Shaabân, *in the 14th Year of the* Hegjrah, *but it muſt be on the thirteenth, which anſwers to the firſt of our* October, *and ſuits exactly well with the Circumſtances of the Hiſtory.*

Dair

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Dair Abi'l Kodos lies between *Tripoli* and *Harran*. There lived in that Place a Prieſt eminent for his ſingular Learning, Piety and Auſterity of Life, to ſuch a degree, that all ſorts of Perſons, Young and Old, Rich and Poor, uſed to frequent his Houſe, to ask his Bleſſing, and receive his Inſtructions. There was no Perſon of what Rank or Quality ſoever, but thought their ſelves happy if they had his Prayers; and when-ever any young Couple amongſt the Nobility and Perſons of the higheſt Rank were married, they were carry'd to him to receive his Bleſſing. Every Eaſter there us'd to be a great Fair kept at his Houſe, where they ſold rich Silks and Sattins, Plate and Jewels, and coſtly Furniture of all ſorts. *Abu Obeidah*, now poſſeſs'd of *Damaſcus*, was in doubt whither to go next. One while he had Thoughts of turning to *Jeruſalem*; another, to *Antioch*. Whilſt he was thus deliberating, a Chriſtian that was under the Saracens Protection, inform'd him of this great Fair, which was about thirty Miles diſtant from *Damaſcus*. When he underſtood that there never uſed to be any Guards at the Fair, the Hopes of an

an eaſy Conqueſt, and large Spoil, encourag'd him to undertake it. He look'd round about upon the Muſlemans, and asked which of 'em would undertake to command the Forces he ſhould ſend upon this Expedition; and at the ſame time caſt his Eye upon *Caled*, but was aſham'd to command him, that had been his General ſo lately. *Caled* underſtood his Meaning; but his being laid aſide ſtuck a little in his Stomach, ſo that he would not profer his Service. At laſt *Abdo'llah Ebn Jaafar* (whoſe Mother was, after his Father *Jaafar* was killed in the Wars, married to *Abubeker*) offer'd himſelf. *Abu Obeidah* accepted him chearfully, and gave him a Standard and 500 Horſe. There was never a Man among 'em but had been in ſeveral Battles. The Chriſtian who had firſt inform'd 'em of this Fair, was their Guide. And whilſt they ſtaid to reſt themſelves in their March, he went before to take a View of the Fair. When he came back, he brought a very diſcouraging Account; for there had never been ſuch a Fair ſeen before. He told them, that there was a moſt prodigious Num-

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ber of People, Abundance of Clergy, Officers, Courtiers and Soldiers. The occaſion of which was, that the Prefect of *Tripoli* had marry'd his Daughter to a great Man, and they had brought the young Lady to this reverend Prieſt, to receive the Communion at his Hands. He added, that take them all together, *Greeks*, *Armenians*, *Cophties*, *Jews*, and *Chriſtians*, there could be no fewer than ten thouſand People, beſides 5000 Horſe, which were the Lady's Guard. *Abdo'llah* asked his Friends what they thought of it? They told him, that it was the beſt way to go back again, and not be acceſſary to their own Deſtruction. To which he anſwered, *That he was afraid, if he ſhould do ſo, God would be angry with him, and reckon him amongſt the Number of thoſe who are backward in his Service; and ſo he ſhould be miſerable. I am not* (ſaid he) *willing to go back before I fight; and if any one will help me, God reward him: If not, I ſhall not be angry with him.* The reſt of the Saracens hearing that, were aſhamed to flinch from him; and told him, he might do as he pleaſed, they were ready at his Command. *Now* (ſays *Abdo'llah* to the Guide) *come along with*

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with us, and you ſhall ſee what the Companions of the Apoſtle of God are able to perform. *Not I*, anſwer'd the Guide, *go your ſelves; I have nothing to ſay to you.* *Abdo'llah* perſwaded him, with a great many good Words, to bear them Company till they came within ſight of the Fair. Having conducted them as far as he thought fit, he bad them ſtay there, and lie cloſe till Morning. In the Morning they conſulted which way to attack them to the beſt Advantage. *Omar Ebn Rebiyah* thought it moſt adviſeable to ſtay till the People had opened their Wares, and the Fair was begun, and then fall upon them when they were all employ'd. This Advice of his was approv'd by all. *Abdo'llah* divided his Men into five Troops, and order'd them to charge in five different Places, and not regard the Spoil, nor taking Priſoners, but put all to the Sword. When they came near the Monaſtery, the Chriſtians ſtood as thick as poſſible. The Reverend Father had begun his Sermon, and they throng'd on all ſides to hear him with a great deal of Attention. The young Lady was in the Houſe, and her Guard ſtood round about it, with a great ma-

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ny of the Nobility and Officers richly cloath'd. When *Abdo'llah* ſaw this Number of People, he was not in the leaſt diſcouraged, but turned himſelf about to the Saracens, and ſaid, *The Apoſtle of God has ſaid, That Paradiſe is under the Shadow of Swords; either we ſhall ſucceed, and then we ſhall have all the Plunder; or elſe die, and ſo the next way to Paradiſe.* The Words were no ſooner out of his Mouth, but he fell upon them, and made a bloody Slaughter. When the Chriſtians heard the Saracens make ſuch a Noiſe, and cry out, *Allàh Acbar*, they were amaz'd and confounded, imagining that the whole Saracen Army had come from *Damaſcus*, and fallen upon 'em; which put them at firſt into a moſt terrible Conſternation. But when they had taken time to conſider and look about themſelves a little, and ſaw that there was but an Handful of Men, they took Courage, and hemm'd them in round on every ſide; ſo that *Abdo'llah* and his Party were * like a little Iſland in the midſt of the Ocean. As ſoon as *Abdo'llah Ebn Anîs* (the Reader is deſir'd to obſerve the Diſtinction of Names, for a great many of 'em are very

* Arab. *Were like a white Spot in a Black Camel's Skin. A Camel being a Creature very frequent and very ſerviceable in the Eaſtern Countries, they often mention and allude to it in their Proverbs.*

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very much alike) perceived that *Abdo'llah Ebn Jaafar* was in ſo much Danger, he immediately turn'd his Horſe, and rather flew than rode to *Abu Obeidah*, who asked him, what News? *Ebn Anîs* told him, that *Abdo'llah, and all the Muſlemans with him were in apparent Hazard of being loſt; and if they were not ſuccour'd inſtantly, would infallibly be cut all to Pieces.* And now 'twas high time to look out for *Caled*; (none like him and *Derar* in a Caſe of Extremity) ſo *Abu Obeidah* turn'd to him, and ſaid, *I beg of thee, for God's ſake, not to fail me in this Exigency, but go and help thy Brethren the Muſlemans.* *Caled* ſwore, that if *Omar* had given the Command of the Army to a Child, he would have obey'd him; adding, *That he would not contradict him, but reſpected him as one that came into the Profeſſion of the Mahometan Religion before himſelf.* All that were preſent were wonderfully pleas'd with *Caled's* modeſt Anſwer; which does indeed deſerve to be particularly taken notice of, eſpecially conſidering how lately he had been turn'd out of his Commiſſion. *Abu Obeidah* hattened him, and he immediately put on his

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Armour. His Coat of Mail was that which he took from *Moſeilamah*, the falſe Prophet. Then he put on his Helmet, and over that a Cap, which he call'd the *Bleſſed Cap*; it having received *Mahomet*'s Benediction. Upon which he valu'd it more than all his Armour beſides, and us'd frequently to attribute his Security and Succeſs to it. His Men were inſtantly ready, and away they flew with all poſſible ſpeed: And if we conſider the Circumſtances, they had need make as much Haſte as they did; for that ſmall Number of Saracens which had made the firſt Attack, was quite drowned and overwhelmed in that great Multitude of Chriſtians, and there was ſcarce any of them but what had more Wounds than one. In ſhort, they were at their laſt Gaſp, and had nothing left to comfort them but Paradiſe. Fighting in this deſperate Condition, about Sun-ſet they ſaw the Duſt fly, and Horſemen coming full ſpeed, which did rather abate than add to their Courage; they imagining at firſt that they might be Chriſtians. At laſt *Caled* appear'd, fierce as a Lyon, with his Colours flying in his Hand, and

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and made up to *Abdo'llah*, who with much ado had born up his Standard all this while, and was now quite ſpent. But as ſoon as they heard *Caled*'s Voice, and ſaw the Mahometan Banner, the ſinking, drooping Saracens, who were ſcarce able to hold their Swords, as if they had had new Blood and Spirits infus'd into 'em inſtead of thoſe they had loſt, took freſh Courage, and all together rent the Skies with *Allàh Acbar*. Then *Abdo'llah* charg'd the Guard, which was round the Monaſtery, on the one ſide; and *Derar Ebno'l Azwâr* on the other. The Prefect of *Tripoli* himſelf was engaged with *Derar*, and was too hard for him, got him down, and lay upon him; at which time *Derar* ſecretly drew a Knife, which he us'd to carry about him againſt ſuch Occaſions, and ſtabb'd him. Then he mounted the Prefect's Horſe, and cry'd out, *Allàh Acbar*. Whileſt *Derar* was engaged with the Prefect, *Abdo'llah Ebn Jaafar* had taken Poſſeſſion of the Houſe, but meddled with nothing in it, till *Caled* came back, who was gone in purſuit of thoſe Chriſtians he had beaten, and followed 'em

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to a River which was between them and *Tripoli*. The Greeks, as ſoon as they came to the River, took the Water. *Caled* purſued them no farther; but when he came back, found the Saracens in the Monaſtery. They ſeized all the Spoil, Silks, Cloaths, Houſhold-Stuff, Fruits and Proviſion, that were in the Fair; and all the Hangings, Money and Plate in the Houſe; and took the young Lady, the Governour's Daughter, and forty Maids that waited upon her. So they loaded all their Jewels, Wealth and Furniture, upon Horſes, Mules and Aſſes, and returned to *Damaſcus*, having left nothing behind them in the Houſe but the old Religious.

While the Saracens were driving away the Spoil, *Caled* called out to the old Prieſt in the Houſe, who would not vouchſafe him an Anſwer. When he call'd a ſecond time; *What would you have?* (ſaid the Prieſt) *Get you gone about your Buſineſs; and aſſure your ſelf, that God's Vengeance will light upon your Head, for ſpilling the Blood of ſo many Chriſtians. How can that be* (ſaid *Caled*) *when* * *God has commanded us to fight with you, and kill you? And if the*

* Alcoran, Chap. VIII. 40.

Apo-

Apoſtle of God (of Bleſſed Memory) *had not commanded us to let ſuch Men as you are alone, you ſhould not have eſcaped any more than the reſt, but I would have put you to a moſt cruel Death.* The poor Religious held his Peace at this, and anſwer'd him never a Word. Omar. Alwâkidi.

Abu Obeidah was all this while waiting with great Impatience, to hear what News. When they returned, he received them with all imaginable Expreſſions of Kindneſs and Affection, taking moſt particular Notice of *Caled* and *Abdo'llah*. Having taken out a * *Fifth*, he diſtributed the reſt of the Spoil among the Soldiers. He gave to *Derar Ebno'l Azwâr* the Prefect of *Tripoli*'s Horſe and Saddle, who made a Preſent of them to his Siſter *Caulah*. She, as ſoon as ſhe had them, picked out all the precious Stones and Jewels, of which there was a great Number in the Trappings and Saddle, and divided them among the Women of her Acquaintance. Then they preſented the Priſoners to *Abu Obeidah*, among which was the Prefect's Daughter. *Abdo'llah* asked that he might have her; but *Abu Obeidah* deſired him to ſtay till he could write to the *Caliph* about it, and

* Alcoran, *Chap.* VIII. 42.

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and have his Leave. *Omar* order'd him to let him have her, and he kept her till *Yezid*'s Reign, (which began in the Year 679.) who begg'd her of him, and had her. There were a great many rich Cloaths curiouſly wrought, in one of which was our Bleſſed Saviour, which was carried with the reſt into *Arabia Fœlix*, and ſold for ten times its Weight in Gold. * Whether the Eſteem they had for the Perſon it repreſented, or the Fineneſs of the Work, rais'd it to ſuch a Price, my Author does not determine; but I believe it was both. Then *Abu Obeidah* ſent a Letter to the Caliph, in which he gave him a particular Account of this laſt Victory, and praiſed *Caled* extremely; telling him how modeſtly and obediently he behav'd himſelf, and how well he perform'd; and deſir'd that he would be ſo kind as to write to him, and encourage him, and keep up his Spirits: But I never yet have met with any Anſwer to that Particular; for the old Gentleman always turn'd a deaf Ear to every thing that was ſaid in Praiſe of *Caled*; whatever the Matter was with him, 'tis moſt certain he did not like him. Among other Particulars which *Abu Obeidah*

* *Indeed there is no abſolute Neceſſity of underſtanding that Price to be given only for that Piece, which had our Saviour wrought upon it; for the Author ſays, The embroider'd Cloath was ſold ſo, but whether he meant only that Piece, or all the reſt that was embroider'd, is uncertain.*

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Obeidah wrote of to the Caliph, he deſired that he might either go and beſiege *Antioch*, (then the Seat of the Grecian Emperor, who upon the taking of *Damaſcus* had || remov'd from *Hems* thither) or elſe *Jeruſalem*, which he pleas'd. He acquainted him alſo, that the Muſlemans had learn'd to drink Wine in *Syria*. The Meſſenger went with the Letter to *Medinah*, and found *Omar* with his Friends in the *Moſque*. When *Omar* had read the Letter, and came to that laſt Particular, he ſhew'd it to *Ali*, (afterwards Caliph) and ask'd him, what he thought on't? *Ali* gravely anſwer'd, that whoever drank Wine, ſhould have fourſcore Stripes upon the Soles of their Feet. *Omar* ſent word to *Abu Obeidah* to deal with them accordingly, and ſwore, *That nothing would ſuit with thoſe Fellows, but Poverty and Hardſhip; whereas it would better become them to direct their Intentions aright, and obſerve the Commands of their moſt mighty Lord, and ſerve him, and believe in him, and give him Thanks.* *Abu Obeidah* having receiv'd the Letter, puniſhd the Offenders according to Order; and deſir'd his Men, that if any of them were conſcious to themſelves of having been guilty

|| *Tho ſome ſay his Reſidence was at* Antioch *before the Saracens came into* Syria.

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guilty of this Fault, they would, as a Teſtimony of the Sincerity of their Repentance, offer themſelves to undergo this Pennance of their own Accord. Upon which a great many came in, and ſubmitted to the Puniſhment voluntarily, having no Accuſer but their own Conſcience. Then he told them, that his Deſign was to march to *Antioch*, againſt the Grecian Dog, (for that was the beſt Compliment they could afford the Emperor.) The Saracens, according to their wonted Cuſtom, encourag'd him to fight againſt the Enemies of God, and told him, they were ready at his Service. He told them, that he would go to *Aleppo* firſt, and then to *Antioch*. When they were ready to march, he called *Caled*, and order'd him to go in the Front, and take the Flag which *Abubeker* had given him at firſt, *viz.* the Black Eagle. With him went *Derar*, *Raphi Ebn Omeirah*, and ſeveral others of Note, with a conſiderable Number of Men. *Abu Obeidah* having placed in *Damaſcus* a Garriſon of 500 Horſe, under the Command of *Sefwân Ebn Amîr*, march'd after them. When he overtook them, he order'd *Caled* to ravage the Country all about

Hems

Hems and *Kenniſrîn*, while he himſelf ſhould go to *Baalbec*, (formerly call'd *Heliopolis*.) As he was upon his March towards *Baalbec*, when he came near *Juſhiyah*, the Governour of *Juſhiyah* came to meet him with a Preſent, and made a Truce with him for one whole Year; telling him, that if they conquer'd *Baalbec*, *Hems*, and *Labwah*, he ſhould not ſtand in Oppoſition to him. *Abu Obeidah* conſented, upon Condition, that he ſhould pay him down four thouſand Pieces of Gold, and fifty Silk Veſts. This done, he goes forward in his March: As he was going, there came one upon a Camel, riding towards him full ſpeed. When he drew near, *Abu Obeidah* knew him to be *Aſâmah Ebn Zeid*; who, making his Camel kneel, alighted; and, having paid his Reſpects, deliver'd him the following Letter.

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In

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In the Name of the moſt merciful God.

From the Servant of God, Omar Ebn Alchitâb, *to his Lieutenant, Greeting. I praiſe the only God, beſides whom there is no other; and I pray for his Prophet* Mahomet, *upon whom be the Bleſſing of God. There is no turning back the Decree and Determination of God; and he that is written an* INFIDEL *in the* * *ſecret Book, ſhall have no Faith. My Speaking thus is occaſion'd by* Jabalah Ebno'l Ayham, *of the Tribe of* Gaſſân, *who came to us with his Relations, and the chief Men of his Tribe, whom I receiv'd and entertain'd kindly. They made Profeſſion of the True Religion before me; and I was glad that God had ſtrengthned the True Religion, and the Profeſſors of it, by their Coming in, not knowing what was in* † *Secret. We went together on Pilgrimage to* Meccah, *and* Jabalah *went round the Temple* ‖ *ſeven times: As he*

* *The Mahometans believe that there is kept in Heaven a Regiſter of all Perſons and Things, which they call* Alláuh ho'lmehphoud, *the Table which is kept ſecret. In this Book all the Decrees of God, and whatſoever ſhall come to paſs, are ſuppoſed to be written.*

† *Arab.* Algaib, *which ſignifies whatſoever is ſecret and unknown to us, as things ſpiritual, inviſible and future. It is frequently in* Arab. *Authors oppoſed to what falls within the Compaſs of our Senſes and Underſtanding.*

‖ *This is a Religious Ceremony uſed by all that go on Pilgrimage to* Meccah.

was

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was going round, it chanc'd that a Man of the Tribe of Fezârah trod upon his Vest, so that it fell from his Soulders. Jabalah turn'd himself about, and said, Woe be to thee! Thou hast uncover'd my Back in the sacred Temple of God. The Man swore that he did not design it: But Jabalah box'd him, broke his Nose, and beat out four of his Fore-Teeth. The poor Man hastned to me, and made his Complaint, desiring my Assistance. I commanded Jabalah to be brought before me, and ask'd him what mov'd him to beat his Brother Musleman after this Fashion, and knock his Teeth out, and break his Nose. He told me, that the Man had trod upon his Vest, and uncover'd his Back; adding, that if it had not been for the Reverence he bore to the holy Temple, he would have killed him. I told him he had made a fair Confession against himself; and if the injured Person would not forgive him, I must proceed with him by way of * Retaliation.

* Retaliation, or Lex Talionis, whereby the offending Person is oblig'd to suffer the same Hurt which he doth to another, was commanded the Jews, Exod. XXI. 24. Eye for Eye, Tooth for Tooth, Hand for Hand, Foot for Foot: And is expresly enjoined by Mahomet, Alcoran II. 173. who inserted a great many things which he had from the Jews. The modern Rabbins interpret this Command of the Mosaical Law, as if it were only a pecuniary Mulct. Don Isaac Abarbanel has a great many Arguments to prove that it ought not to be understood in a literal Sense. To instance in one or two: He asks, Whether if the offending Person

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liation. He anſwer'd, that he was a King, and the other a Peaſant. I told him, no Matter for that, they were both Muſlemans, and in that Reſpect equal. Upon which he deſired that his Puniſhment might be deferred till the next Day. I ask'd the injur'd Perſon, whether he was willing to ſtay ſo long? To which he gave his Conſent. In the Night, Jabalah *and his Friends made their Eſcape, and he is gone to the Grecian Dog; but I hope in God that he will give thee the Victory over him. Sit down before* Hems, *and keep cloſe to it; and ſend thy Spies towards* Antioch, *for fear of the Chriſtian* Arabs. *Health and Happineſs, and the Bleſſing of God, be upon thee, and all the Muſlemans.*

What might not be expected from a Government, in which there flouriſh'd ſuch impartial Adminiſtration of Juſtice? *Abu Obeidah* having read over

ſon ſhould have but one Eye or one Hand, he ought to be depriv'd of either, becauſe he had ſtruck out an Eye or cut off another Man's Hand that had two? Again, How would it be poſſible for a Judge to inflict a Puniſhment, which ſhould be exactly the ſame with the Injury, ſince that Stroke might prove mortal to one Man, which was not ſo to another; and ſo a Man might pay for a Wound which was not mortal, with the Loſs of his Life. Thus far Abarbanel. *But the Practice of the Mahometans is contrary. Only the injured Perſon may if he pleaſes accept of any other Satisfaction; but if he comes to a Judge, and demands* Retaliation, *he is oblig'd to let him have it.*

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the Letter, firſt to himſelf, and then to the Muſlemans, went on towards *Hems*, (whither *Caled* was gone before with a third Part of the Army) and ſat down before it in *November*, in the * Year of our Lord 635. The Governour of the Town chanc'd to die that ſame Day that *Caled* came before it. The Inhabitants expected that the Saracens would have taken *Baalbec* in their Way, before they ſhould have had their Company at *Hems*; and therefore were not ſo well provided to endure a Siege. Upon which Conſideration, in hopes of gaining Opportunity to augment their Stores, they conclude to make Application to *Abu Obeidah*, to make a Truce with them, telling him, that if the Saracens conquer'd *Haleb* (*Aleppo*) *Alhâdir*, and *Kinnaſrîn*, and beat the Emperor's Forces, they ſhould willingly ſubmit. *Abu Obeidah* conſented to make a Truce with them for the ſpace of one whole Year, and no longer, which was to commence on the firſt Day of *Dulhagjah* of the preſent Year, and expire on the laſt Day of the Month *Sjewâl*, in the following Year, being the fifteenth of the *Hegjrah*; upon

* Hegjrah 14. A. D. 635.

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on Condition that they ſhould pay him down 10000 Pieces of Gold, and 200 Silk Veſts. The Ceſſation of Arms was no ſooner concluded upon, than the *Hemeſſens* open'd their Gates, and came out and kept a Market in the Saracen Camp. The Arabians, now enrich'd with the Spoils of the Country, gave them what they asked, and never ſtood for a Price; ſo that the Citizens turn'd the Penny well. In the mean time the Arabian Horſe foraged all about the Country, both far and near. Among the reſt *Méſab Ebn Mohárib* brought in abundance of Spoil, Sheep and Oxen, with a great many Horſes and Camels loaden with Furniture, and 400 Captives, making moſt pitious Lamentation for the Calamity which had fallen upon them. *Abu Obeidah*, mov'd with Compaſſion, ask'd them why they did not come into the Profeſſion of the *Mahometan* Religion? and by that means ſecure their Lives and Fortunes, Wives and Children. They told him, that they were altogether ſurpriz'd, not expecting any Hoſtilities from the Saracens, at that Diſtance they lived. *Abu Obeidah*, having ask'd Advice of the Muſlemans, and they

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chey referring it wholly to himſelf, ſet four Pieces of Gold upon every Head, as *Omar* had order'd him to do in ſuch Caſes, and laying Tribute upon them, and obliging them, every one in his reſpective Capacity, to aſſiſt the Muſlemans as Opportunity ſhould ſerve, gave them all their Cattle, Furniture, Wives and Children back again, having firſt enter'd all their Names, and the Places of their Habitation, in a Book kept for that purpoſe. The poor People were overjoy'd to find themſelves in ſuch a happy Condition, after the being plung'd into the Depth of Deſpair, and acquainted their Neighbours with what an unexpected Favour they had received at the Hands of the Saracens. This Conduct did greatly facilitate the Conqueſt of the Arabians; for whereas an unrelenting Cruelty would have made every one deſperate, and have fought it out to the laſt drop of Blood; when they ſaw that there was a Poſſibility of enjoying their Religion, and a Competency, by ſubmitting themſelves to thoſe who would otherwiſe have taken all that they had by Force, and either have murder'd them every one, or at

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beſt made them Slaves; a great many choſe rather to embrace the former Condition while it might be had, than run the Hazard of falling into the latter. By this means the Saracens were ſtrengthen'd, for they made uſe of theſe People on all Occaſions. They ſerved them for Interpreters, for Guides when they march'd, and ſeveral other Purpoſes; and from them they received Advice of all the Motions of the Chriſtians, and Intelligence of whatever was debated or taken in hand to their Diſadvantage. Quickly after, the News of *Abu Obeidah*'s gentle Behaviour flew about the Country, a great many of the Greeks came in upon the ſame Terms, which he book'd and diſmiſs'd peaceably. The Inhabitants of *Alhâdir* and *Kinniſrîn* hearing this, entertain'd ſome Thoughts of following their Example; but privately, and without the notice of * *Luke* their Governour, who was a warlike Man, and reſolv'd to make a vigorous Reſiſtance. This *Luke* had an Antipathy againſt the Governour of *Aleppo*; inſomuch that when *Heraclius* ſent for them both to conſult which way was beſt to manage the War, and both of them had aſſur'd him,

* *Some* Arab. *Authors call him* Matthias; *but they are, as I have obſerv'd before, very negligent in the Names of the Chriſtians.*

him, they would do their beſt; they would not nevertheleſs join their Forces together, but look'd each Man to the Defence of his own Province. As ſoon as *Luke* underſtood that his People were diſpoſed to ſubmit themſelves to the Saracens, he was very much diſpleaſed; but diſſembling his Anger, in hopes of preventing their Deſign by Stratagem, he calls a Council, and asked their Advice. They told him, that they underſtood that the *Arabs* were a People that received into their Protection ſuch as came to them, and uſed to ſtand to their Word: That ſince they had come into *Syria*, their conſtant Practice had been, to kill and make Slaves of all that oppoſed them; at the ſame time protecting thoſe in the peaceable Enjoyment of their Poſſeſſions which ſubmitted to them. For which reaſon they thought it moſt adviſeable to follow the Example of their Neighbours. He anſwered, that they were in the right, and therefore he deſign'd to make a Truce with them, till the Emperor's Succours ſhould come up, and then oppreſs them when they leaſt ſuſpected it.

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Upon this he diſpatches *Aſtachar*, a Prieſt, a very learned Man, Maſter of the Arabick Tongue, and thoroughly verſed in the Jewiſh and Chriſtian Theology, with a Letter to the Saracen General; in which he magnified the Greatneſs of the Emperor, and the Strength of the Place; adding, that all Attempts upon it would be in vain, not only upon the Account of its being well fortified and furniſhed with Plenty of Military Stores, but becauſe the Emperor was now raiſing a vaſt Army in *Europe*, which were ſhortly to be tranſported over the *Boſphorus*, and muſtered at *Tyre*, for the Relief of *Syria*: That notwithſtanding all theſe Advantages, they were nevertheleſs deſirous to live at quiet, and were willing to have a Year's Truce, and the General ſhould ſet a Mark at their Bounds; that when any of the Saracen Horſe that foraged, came that way and ſaw the Sign, they ſhould go no further to do any Miſchief in their Country. That this Agreement of Truce was a Secret, and muſt not be known to *Heraclius* the Emperor, for fear of his Diſpleaſure. With theſe Inſtructions

Aſta-

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Aſtachar goes to *Hems*, where he found the Mahometans at Prayers. Prayers done, *Abu Obeidah* admits him, and when he offer'd to bow down to the Ground, would not ſuffer him. When *Caled* had heard the Contents of the Letter, he did not like it, but ſhak'd his Head, and ſaid, *That this did not look like the Stile of a Man that deſir'd Peace in earneſt*; and would fain have perſwaded *Abu Obeidah* not to hearken to him. *But* (ſaid he) *let us go to the Place, and by* * Mahomet *I'll make that City a Prey to the Muſlemans, if it pleaſe God, and a Terror to the reſt. Softly!* (ſaid *Abu Obeidah*) *No Man knows the Hearts of Men, but God only. Well then*, anſwer'd *Caled*, *make no Agreement with them, unleſs it be for good-and-all; and if they will accept of this, well and good; if not, let them alone. I hope, by the Help of God, I ſhall be a Match for them. Aſtachar* was ſurpriz'd at *Caled*'s Roughneſs, and ſaid, *That the Character which he had heard of the Arabs was not true; for the Chriſtians had been informed that they were very gentle and courteous to all ſuch Perſons as came to ſeek their Protection: But now* (adds he) *I find the contrary, for I come to propoſe*

* Arab. Wahákki dini Reſoul Allah. *By the Veracity or Truth of the Religion of the Apoſtle of God. Sometimes*, Wahàkki Reſoul Allah. *As it may be in this Place.*

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Terms of Peace, and you are not willing to accept them. To which *Caled* anſwer'd, that they were not willing to be impos'd upon, but had great reaſon to ſuſpect the Sincerity of theſe Overtures; and if there ſhould come any Aſſiſtance from the Emperor, and they ſaw any Advantage on their own ſide, they would be the firſt that would take up Arms againſt the Saracens, notwithſtanding their preſent pretended Deſire of Peace. However a Ceſſation of Arms ſhould be granted for a Twelve-month, upon Condition, that if any Forces were ſent by the Grecian Emperor, the Inhabitants of the City ſhould keep themſelves within their own Walls, and not ſtir out to their Aſſiſtance. This done, *Aſtachar* ask'd for a Copy of the Agreement, which *Abu Obeidah* having given him, he deſir'd that there might be ſome Sign ſet up at the Limits of their Territories, that when the Soldiers ſaw it they might not forage in the Country. *Abu Obeidah* ſaid, he would take Care to have it done: But *Aſtachar* told him, he need not trouble any of his own Men, for they intended, with his Leave, to do it themſelves. Accordingly

dingly the Greeks erected a * Pillar, upon the Top of which they carved the Grecian Emperor sitting upon his Throne. All Things being thus made easy for a while, between the Saracens and the Governour of *Kinnisrîn*, there happen'd an unlucky Accident, which had like to have occasion'd a Misunderstanding between them. Some of the Saracen Horse passing that way, and observing the curious Workmanship of the Pillar, admir'd it. They spent some Time in viewing it, riding past it backward and forward, and exercising themselves round about it. At last, as one of 'em past by it in a full Career, with his Javelin in his Hand; the Iron which was fastened in the lower End of the Javelin, accidentally struck out one of the Eyes of the carved Emperor. This taking Air, was misconstrued by the Greeks as a most vile Indignity offer'd to the Emperor in Effigie, and a manifest Breach of the Truce. Upon this Messengers are dispatch'd to *Abu Obeidah*, who expostulate the Injury with a great deal of Clamour, and insist upon Satisfaction. He declares, that his Intent was to keep his Word inviolably,

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* *This same Story is in* Eutychius *his Annals.*

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bly, and that he was well aſſur'd, that whoever did it, had no deſign to ſhew any Diſreſpect to the Emperor; and that the Sincerity of his Intentions might appear, proffer'd any reaſonable Satisfaction. Nothing would ſatisfy them but Retaliation, and the Affront offer'd to the Emperor muſt be return'd upon the Caliph. In which Demand, when he that ſpoke, expreſs'd himſelf unwarily, and talk'd of putting out one of *Omar*'s Eyes, the rude Saracens thinking he meant litterally as he ſpoke, were ſo inflam'd, that had not *Abu Obeidah* reſtrain'd them, by telling them, that theſe People wanted Senſe, and muſt be born with, they had ruſhed upon them inſtantly, and killed 'em upon the ſpot. *Abu Obeidah* told 'em, that they might ſet up his Statue if they wou'd, and do what they pleas'd with it: But nothing would ſerve but the Statue of the the *Caliph*. To which at laſt, wearied with Importunity, he conſented. They having made a Statue to repreſent *Omar*, and put two Glaſs Eyes in the Head of it, order'd one of their Men to ſtrike out one of 'em with a Lance. And thus, having receiv'd ſufficient Reparation for the Injury received, they were very well pacify'd.

Abu

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Abu Obeidah continu'd at *Hems*, ſending out his Horſe to forage, and expecting with great Impatience the Expiration of the Truce, which had tied up his Hands from offering any Hoſtility within the Territories of *Hems*, *Alhâdir* and *Kinniſrîn*. *Omar* in the mean time wondered at *Abu Obeidah*'s Silence, and not having heard of any conſiderable Action a long time, grew very angry: At laſt he wrote a ſhort ſnapping ſort of a Letter to *Abu Obeidah*, as follows:

In the Name of the moſt merciful God.

From Omar Ebno'l Chitâb, *to* Abu Obeidah Ebno'l Jerahh, *his Lieutenant in* Syria, *Greeting. I praiſe God, beſides whom there is no other; and I pray for his Prophet* Mahomet, *upon whom be the Bleſſing of God. I command thee to put thy Truſt in God; and I bid thee take heed that thou be not one of thoſe, concerning whom God* * *ſays*; † "SAY, "If your Parents, or Children, or "Friends, or Wives, or Families, or "the Riches you have gained, or the "Merchandice which you are afraid "you ſhould not ſell, or the Houſes which

* *So they quote the Alcoran But when they mention any of* Mahomet's *Sayings, they ſet down his Name.*

† *This is the twenty fourth Verſe of the Ninth Chapter of the* Alcoran. *In which, (as alſo in a Multitude of other Places)* Mahomet *introduces God ſpeaking to him thus,* SAY, *[to the People]* If your Parents, *&c.*

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" which you delight in be dearer to
" you than God and his Apoſtle, and
" the fighting for his Service; ſtay till
" God ſhall accompliſh what he has
" decreed. God does not direct thoſe
" that do wickedly.

The Muſlemans had no ſooner heard the Letter, than they perfectly underſtood that *Omar* deſign'd by it to rebuke them for their Negligence. *Abu Obeidah* repented himſelf heartily that he had granted a Truce to the Inhabitants of *Alhâdir* and *Kinniſrîn*, and all the Muſlemans wept for Sorrow, becauſe they had been ſo remiſs in their Duty; and ask'd *Abu Obeidah*, why he ſat ſtill, and did not lead them forth to fight the * *Battles of the Lord?* deſiring of him at the ſame time to leave *Kinniſrîn*, and march either to *Aleppo* or *Antioch*; before either of which were taken, the Truce would be expir'd. Upon this he had Thoughts of going to *Aleppo*; and having left *Salmah* with a Party of Horſe at *Hems*, the firſt Place he came at was *Arreſtân*; from thence he march'd to *Hamah*, (afterwards the Seat of the famous *Abu'lpheda*) and from thence to *Shaizar*; with all which

* *Arab.* Jehâd. Bellum Sacrum.

which Places he made Truce upon Conditions. At *Shaizar*, he receiv'd Information, that the Governour of *Kinniſrîn* (contrary to the Articles of Truce) had wrote to the Emperor for freſh Supplies; who had ſent *Jabalah Ebno'l Ayham* to his Aſſiſtance. Upon which, *Abu Obeidah* defers his intended March to *Aleppo*, deſigning to fall upon *Kinniſrîn*, as ſoon as the Truce ſhould be expir'd, which did not now want quite a Month. The Governour of *Kinniſrîn* going out to meet *Jabalah*, and the Prefect of *Ammouriyah* coming to his Aſſiſtance, was unfortunately intercepted by *Caled*; who, having ventur'd upon that Undertaking with an inconſiderable Number of Men, eſcap'd the greateſt Danger, being on every ſide ſurrounded with the Chriſtians: After he had kill'd the Prefect of *Kinniſrîn*, *Raphi Ebn Omeirah* ſaid to him, * *Our Time is come.* To which he anſwer'd, *That he believ'd ſo, becauſe he had forgot his Cap, which us'd to do him ſuch ſingular Service; and which he ſhould not have left behind him, if it had not been ſo decreed:* But ſpeedy Relief coming from *Abu Obeidah*, they were deliver'd beyond all Expectation.

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* *Arab.* Jâa Ajálona.

Abu

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Abu Obeidah fully reſolv'd now to beſiege *Kinniſrîn*, ſent a Party of Horſe before, who forag'd and waſted all the Country round about. The Priſoners which they took were ſent to the Caliph, and he took Care to put the Boys to the Writing School, according to the Command of their Prophet *Mahomet*; who, tho he could neither write nor read himſelf, was very well ſenſible of the uſe of it. The Inhabitants of *Kinniſrîn* having loſt their Governour, and being altogether out of Hopes of eſcaping, ſu'd for Protection, and ſubmitted to pay Tribute, being firſt poll'd, according to *Omar*'s Order, at the Rate of four Ducats an Head. *Kinniſrîn* being taken, *Abu Obeidah* call'd his Muſlemans together, and ſaid, *Tell me* (*God bleſs you*) *your Advice*; *for God has ſaid in the mighty Book*, (meaning the *Alcoran*) *to his Prophet* Mahomet, ASK THEIR ADVICE IN A MATTER, AND TRUST UPON GOD; *and the Apoſtle of God has ſaid*, HE THAT TAKES ADVICE, IS SECURE; *ſhall we go to* Aleppo, *or* Antioch? They told him, that the time of the Truce which he had made with the neighbouring Places

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Places was almoſt expir'd, and therefore they were of Opinion, that it would be moſt adviſable to take them in their way, before they mov'd any further into the Country; eſpecially they choſe to go to *Baalbec*, where they had Reaſon to expect a vigorous Oppoſition. *Abu Obeidah* hereupon, leaving *Caled* to beſiege *Hems*, march'd himſelf to *Baalbec*; where, when the Saracens came, they found themſelves not at all diſappointed in their Expectation; for the Place was very well fortified, and ſtor'd with warlike Proviſion. The Saracens intercepted a Caravan, with 400 Loads of Silks and Sugars, upon their Journey to *Baalbec*. *Abu Obeidah* put none of them to Death, (as not bearing Arms) but gave them Leave to ranſom themſelves. Some of them going to *Baalbec*, acquainted the Inhabitants with the Loſs of the Caravan; who, under the Conduct of *Herbis* their Governour, went out in Hopes of recovering it, to the Number of ſix thouſand Horſe, attended with a Rabble of the undiſciplin'd Multitude; who, imagining that the main Body of the Saracen Army had ſtill continu'd at *Hems*, and that the Caravan

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van had been ſpoil'd only by a Party of Foragers; encountring with *Abu Obeidah* under ſo great a Diſadvantage, were overthrown and routed, *Herbis*, their General, receiving no leſs than ſeven Wounds, and with great Difficulty and Hazard retiring to the City. When *Abu Obeidah* came before it, the Saracens reſolv'd to beſiege it ſtreightly. *Meâd Ebn Jabal* told *Abu Obeidah*, that he knew the People of the Town were ready to tread one upon another, and he thought it could ſcarce contain them all; adding, *If we hold out againſt it, we hope that God will deliver it into the Hands of the Muſlemans; for God will not ceaſe to give the Earth for an Inheritance to his Servants the Saints, becauſe* * *he has ſaid, WE have written in the Pſalms, that my Servants the Saints ſhall inherit the Earth.* The next Day *Abu Obeidah* wrote a Letter to the Beſieg'd, in which he put them in Mind of the Victories God had already granted to the Faithful, over thoſe which oppoſed them, and offered to receive them, paying Tribute as others had done before them. This Letter he gave to a Country-man that was under their Protection, and a Reward of twenty Pieces

* Alcoran, Chap. XXI. 105

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Pieces of Silver, ſaying, *That he was none of thoſe that would make uſe of any Man's Service, and not pay him for it.* The Meſſenger coming to the Wall, they let down a Rope, which he having tied about his middle, they drew him up. The Letter being read, (for *Abu Obeidah*, when he wrote to the *Greeks*, made uſe of a *Greek* Secretary) the Beſieged were divided in their Opinions, and a great many of them inclin'd to ſurrender; which *Herbis* the Governour was ſo averſe to, that he tore the Letter in Pieces, and threw it to the Meſſenger, commanding him to be forthwith ſent back again, which was all the Anſwer he vouchſafed to give to it.

The Saracens, upon this, beſieging the City, were bravely repuls'd by the Beſieged, who did them a great deal of Damage with their Engines planted upon the Walls. The Valour of the Citizens, together with the extreme Coldneſs of the Weather, made the Saracens glad to lay by their Aſſault. The next Morning, after Prayers were over, a Cryer went round the Camp, commanding in the General's Name, that never a Man of them ſhould ſtir,

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or do any thing elſe, before he got himſelf ready ſome hot Victuals. The Order was no ſooner heard than obey'd, and every Man went to work for himſelf. Whilſt they were in the midſt of their Cookery, the Beſieged ſallied. The Saracens were immediately alarm'd. Among the reſt, *Ahmed Ebn Aſed* was juſt a going to put his Hand to his Mouth, when *Abu Obeidah* ſtruck him a good Blow with a Truncheon, and gave him an hearty Curſe in to the Bargain. The poor Man ſtarted up on a ſuddain, and like one ſcar'd out of his Wits, ſnatch'd up a Tent-pole, and ran and charg'd the Enemy, ſcarce knowing where he was, till he was got in the midſt of them. The Saracens ſurpriz'd in this Diſorder, did with much ado beat back the Beſieged, who nevertheleſs carried off with them ſome Priſoners and Plunder. In the Evening the Chief of the Saracens met at *Abu Obeidah*'s Tent, and ſaid, *You ſee the Courage of theſe People, what do you think to do in this Caſe?* To which he anſwer'd, *That the Damage ſuſtain'd by the Saracens was decreed by God, who was pleas'd to honour thoſe Perſons that were kill'd with the Degree of Martyrdom.*

Then

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Then he commanded them to remove their Tents to a greater Diſtance from the City, that they might have a larger Space for their Horſes to courſe in. He gave to *Said Ebn Zeid* the Command of 500 Horſe, and 300 Foot, with Orders to go into the Valley, and keep the *Greeks* in Play at that Gate, which was oppoſite to the Mountains, that their Forces might be divided, and they oblig'd to fight in Parcels. *Derar* was plac'd at that Gate which looks towards *Damaſcus*, with 300 Horſe and 200 Foot. The next Morning about Break of Day, *Herbis* the Governour, with a ſtrong Body of Men, ſallied out at that Gate where *Abu Obeidah* himſelf was poſted; encouraging his Men, and telling them, that the Saracens were afraid of them, and bidding them remember, that they fought for their Religion, Wives, Children, and Fortunes; in a Word, whatſoever was dear to them. They anſwer'd him chearfully, That though they were afraid of the *Arabs* at firſt, yet they were not ſo now, being a little better acquainted with their manner of fighting: Beſides, the *Arabs* were half naked; ſome of them fighting without

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Armour, others with ſcarce Cloaths enough to cover them; whereas (ſaid they) we have good Helmets, Breaſt-plates, and Coats of Mail. *Abu Obeidah* on the other ſide was not wanting to tell the Saracens that they muſt have Patience; *for God had promis'd good Succeſs to thoſe that held out to the laſt.* The *Greeks* encourag'd with Yeſterday's Victory, charg'd the Saracens home, and the Battle was maintain'd with great Obſtinacy on both Sides, yet ſo as the *Greeks* had apparently the Advantage. At that time *Sohail Ebn Sabah* received a Wound in his Right Arm, which diſabled him ſo, that he could not hold up his Sword: Upon which he alighted from his Horſe, and having told his Friends that he was no longer able to defend himſelf, retired out of the Battle to a neighbouring Hill; which having clamber'd up, not without ſome Pain and Difficulty, he had a clear Proſpect of both the Armies. The *Greeks*, as we ſaid, having ſallied out upon *Abu Obeidah*'s Quarters, there was nothing to do at thoſe Gates where *Derar* and *Said Ebn Zeid* were poſted. *Sohail* obſerving this, and that *Abu Obeidah* was forc'd to give Ground, without

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out any Order from the General, or any Perſon's knowing it, kindled a Fire, and with ſome green Sticks, made a great Smoak upon the Top of the Hill. Aſſoon as *Saïd* and *Derar* perceived it, they imagin'd it to have been a Signal from the General for them to come up, that being the moſt uſual Signal among the Saracens by Day, as Fire was by Night, when they had a Mind to call thoſe together, who were poſted at any Diſtance. Upon this *Derar* and *Saïd* rode with their Men full ſpeed, and came ſeaſonably to the Relief of their Brethren: For the *Greeks* by this time thought themſelves ſecure of the Victory; but finding themſelves ſurrounded, the Caſe was quite alter'd with them; and they who ſo few Minutes ago expected to have won the Field, now deſpair'd of getting back to their own City: However, they joining cloſe together, and fighting bravely, made an impenetrable Phalanx; which, maugre all Oppoſition, gain'd the Top of an Hill, on which there ſtood an old deſerted Monaſtery, whither *Herbis* and his Men retir'd, and ſtood upon their own Defence. *Abu Obeidah*, who as yet knew nothing of *Saïd* and *Derar*'s being come

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from the Places where he had poſted them, perceiving with what undaunted Courage theſe Men fought, imagined their Retreat feign'd, only with a Deſign to draw the Saracens out of Order, and therefore would not let his Men purſue them. But *Saïd Ebn Zeid* hearing nothing of the General's Order, follow'd them to the Top of the Hill. There leaving one in his Room with Orders not to ſuffer a Man to ſtir out of the Houſe, he with twenty of his Men went to acquaint *Abu Obeidah* with the News. Who ſeeing him come with ſo few, was ſurpriz'd, and ask'd him what was become of the reſt. *Saïd* told him, they were all ſafe and ſound, and had beſieg'd the Enemies of God (a Compliment they are very liberal of to the Chriſtians) in an old Houſe, acquainting him with all the Circumſtances of the Story. Then *Abu Obeidah* enquir'd of him and *Derar*, what made them ſtir from their Poſts? *Saïd* ſwore, that he did nothing contrary to order, for he never ſtir'd till he ſaw the Smoak. *Abu Obeidah* confeſs'd that it was well they came, for he was afraid the Greeks would have ſeized their Camp, and wiſhed for them,

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them, or for ſome Body to make a Smoak. *Saïd* again poſitively affirming that there was a Smoak, *Abu Obeidah* was aſtoniſh'd, and made Proclamation throughout the Camp, *Whoever he be that kindled the Fire, and Smoak upon the Hill, let him ſpeak*; and this with an Adjuration. Upon this *Sohail* came forth, and confeſs'd it, and told the reaſon why he did it. *Abu Obeidah* was very glad it happen'd ſo well, but charged them all ſtrictly, that none of them ſhould ever dare to attempt any ſuch thing again, without the Permiſſion of their General.

Whileſt *Abu Obeidah* was talking to *Sohail*, a Saracen came with all ſpeed from the Mountain, and alarm'd the whole Camp. *Herbis* perceiving by how ſmall a Number he was beſieged in the Houſe, being now fewer than 500, took Courage, and ſallied, in hopes of recovering the City. They fought bravely, and handled the Saracens at ſuch a rate, that *Meſab Ebn Adi*, who was preſent in moſt of the Battles fought in *Syria*, ſaid, that of all he ever beheld, he never ſaw any Men behave themſelves better, nor ſtand cloſer to it, than thoſe Greeks which were

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then with the Governour. It was he that rode and gave notice to *Abu Obeidah*, who had no ſooner heard it, than he diſpatched *Saïd* with an Hundred Archers, and commanded *Derar* to aſſiſt him. When they came to the Hill, they found their Friends in á pitiful Condition, for there were no leſs than ſeventy Saracens upon the Ground, wounded or killed, and the Greeks laid about them very eagerly. But overpower'd with freſh Numbers of their Enemies, they were forc'd once more to retire to their Monaſtery, where they were watched with ſuch a vigilant Eye, that one of them could not ſo much as offer to peep out, but the Saracens let fly an Arrow at him.

Abu Obeidah leaving *Saïd Ebn Zeid* to take Care of the Governour, drew up his Men, and ordered them to pitch their Tents about the City; *For* (ſays he) *God has circumvented your Enemy, and perform'd that Promiſe which he made to us, to help us; and this is becauſe God is a Protector of thoſe who put their Truſt in him; but as for the Infidels, they have no Protector. Herbis*, the Governour, finding himſelf ſtreighten'd, began to re-

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repent himſelf that ever he came into that old Houſe. He conſidered with great Concern, that in a very ſhort time he and his Men muſt needs be reduced for want of Proviſion. Nor could any about him, ſuppoſing they could have found a Poſſibility of ſending, think of any Perſon capable of aſſiſting them in theſe deplorable Circumſtances. The Saracens having taken ſo many Places already, had ſpread ſuch a Terror around the Country, that thoſe which remained were under too great a Concern for their own Preſervation, to be at leiſure to lend an helping Hand to their diſtreſs'd Neighbours. A great many others had by Agreement to a Truce, rendered themſelves incapable of bearing Arms at that time againſt the Saracens. In this miſerable State, no other Proſpect offering it ſelf, compelled by Neceſſity, they were forced to ſurrender themſelves into the Hands of their Conquerors. *Herbis* calls out aloud, and asks if there were any Perſon that underſtood him. Being asked by an Interpreter what he would have; he deſired that he might be ſecur'd from Danger of the Archers, and that *Saïd* would come near

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near and talk with him. *Saïd* anſwer'd, that he ow'd him no ſuch Reſpect; but if he had any thing to ſay, he might come to him. Loath to venture himſelf, he, by means of the Interpreter, got leave to ſend a Meſſenger, who coming before *Saïd*, offer'd to fall down upon his Face by way of Reſpect. *Saïd* made a Sign to him to forbear, and the Saracens came about him, and held him from doing it: Of which he having asked the reaſon, *Saïd* ſaid to the Interpreter, *Becauſe both he and I are Servants of God, and it is not lawful to uſe Adoration and Worſhip to any but God, who is the proper Object of Worſhip.* Being examin'd about his Errand, he ſaid, that he came to deſire Protection for *Herbis* and his Men; which was accordingly granted, upon Condition, that they ſhould lay down their Arms, and ſurrender themſelves. The Meſſenger ask'd, whether that Security was only from himſelf, or from the General too? *Saïd* told him, from all the Saracens. When *Herbis* heard this, he came out, and my Author tells us, that he has learnt from Perſons worthy of Credit, that *Herbis* when he came out to ſurrender

render himſelf, put off all his Silks, and exchanging with ſome of his Men, put on Woollen Apparel, ſuiting his Habit to the Meanneſs of his preſent Condition. *Saïd* ſeeing him come along in this humble Mien, fell down and worſhipp'd God, ſaying, *Praiſed be God, who has humbled their great Ones before us, and given us Dominion over their Rulers.* Then he went to meet him, and bad him come nearer, and ſit down by him; and asked him, whether that which he had on was his proper Habit? To which he anſwer'd, *That he never had any Woollen on before in his Life, nor knew what it was to wear any thing but Silk.* He demanding of *Saïd*, whether he had Power, or was willing to grant Security, as well for thoſe in the City as thoſe preſent with him? *Saïd* told him, *That as for thoſe which were with him he would grant them Security, upon two Conditions; Either that they ſhould turn Mahometans, and ſo have one common Intereſt with them: Or, if they choſe rather to continue in the Profeſſion of their own Religion, they ſhould never more bear Arms againſt the Muſlemans. But as for thoſe in the City, they were at the General's Diſpoſal;* to

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to whom if he was willing to go, he profer'd his Service to conduct him; and if they could agree upon any Terms, well and good: If not, he ſhould, if he deſired it, have free Leave, with as many of his Men as were willing to go back with him, to return to his Monaſtery again; there to be beſieg'd till God ſhould determine the Matter between them.

Being brought into the Preſence of *Abu Obeidah*, and taking a View of the *Saracens* about him, conſidering at the ſame time what a Condition they had brought him and his Men into, he ſhak'd his Head, and bit his Fingers Ends for Indignation. Being ask'd what was the reaſon of that Behaviour? he anſwer'd, *That he thought their Number had been much greater than he found it was, now he was come among them.* *Abu Obeidah* bad his Interpreter tell him, *That the Number of the true Believers ſeemed greater in the Eyes of the Idolaters than it really was; becauſe the Angels helped them, as they did at the Battle of* Beder, *which is the Grace of God towards us; and by this means God gives us the Victory over your Country, and makes your Armies flee before us.* That the Angels help'd *Mahomet* in Battle,

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Battle, he has expreſly told them in the * *Alcoran*; and they believ'd and depended upon the ſame Aſſiſtance, and oftentimes attributed their Succeſs to it; not that any of them pretended ever to have ſeen theſe Auxiliary Troops of militant Angels; it being ſufficient for their Purpoſe to be ſeen by their Enemies. *Herbis* offer'd for the whole City of *Baalbec* 1000 Ounces of Gold, 2000 of Silver, and 1000 Silk Veſts. *Abu Obeidah* told him, *If they would have Peace, they muſt double the Sum, and add to it a Thouſand Swords, and all the Arms belonging to thoſe Men that were ſhut up in the Monaſtery, and pay Tax and Tribute the next Year, and never bear Arms for the time to come, nor write to the Emperor, nor attempt either directly or indirectly, any thing againſt the Saracens, nor build any Churches or Monaſteries.* *Herbis* complaining of the Severity of the Articles, as being all in Favour of the *Saracens*, deſir'd that the Beſieged might at leaſt have this one Article on their ſide; *viz. That whoſoever ſhould be appointed Lieutenant over* Baalbec, *ſhould not come into the City, nor any of his Men; but pitching his Tents on the out-ſide of the Walls, ſhould there receive the*

* *Chap.* IX. 26, 40.

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the Tribute impos'd upon the Inhabitants. This being granted, all was agreed upon, only there wanted the Townſmens Conſent; who, having heard the Articles, did not approve of them, and ſaid, they would never ſurrender the ſtrongeſt City in *Syria* into the Hands of the Saracens, upon ſuch Terms: But when *Herbis* had remonſtrated to them the Danger to which he and his Men muſt be expos'd, if there were not ſome Agreement made, and the Proviſion he had made for their Repoſe and Quiet, in excluding all the Saracens from once entering into the Town; adding withal, that he would lay down a fourth part of what was impos'd upon them himſelf, they at laſt conſented. *Herbis* alone going into the City to raiſe the promis'd Sum, *Abu Obeidah* detain'd all the reſt of his Men as Hoſtages, till it ſhould be paid. In twelve Days time he brought it; upon which *Abu Obeidah* diſmiſs'd the Men, and calling for *Raphi Ebn Abdo'llah*, left him to take Care of *Baalbec* with 900 Saracens, giving him a moſt ſtrict Charge to do nothing but what was right and juſt, telling him that he had heard the Prophet ſay, That God had com-

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commanded *Moſes* and *David* the ſame thing. He bad him prevent all manner of Diſturbance between his Men and the Inhabitants of the City, and have an Eye to the Sea-ſhore, and pillage all thoſe Places in the Neighbourhood, which had not enter'd into Articles. Having left him with this Charge, he moved towards *Hems*; and before he came thither, the Prefect of *Juſhiyah* met him with a Preſent, which he accepting, renew'd the Truce with him.

Salmah very punctually executed his Charge, and both he and his Men behav'd themſelves ſo inoffenſively, that the Citizens and the Saracens grew very well acquainted. The Saracens, according to their Cuſtom, plundering all the Neighbourhood, ſold what they got to the Citizens, who began to be in a fair way of growing rich with the Spoils of their Country-men and Fellow-Chriſtians. *Herbis*, formerly their Governour, perceiving this, began to conſider which way he might bring himſelf in for a Share of the Gains: Wherefore, calling them together, he repreſented what Hazard he had expos'd himſelf to for their Preſervation, whilſt it was

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in his Power, and what Pains he had taken to procure them thoſe Articles of Peace, of which they now reap'd the Benefit; beſides the paying down, at his own proper Expence, the fourth part of what was impos'd upon them all; adding, that he thought it nothing but reaſonable, that ſince they were in a Capacity, he ſhould be reimburs'd. This was conſented to without any Oppoſition; but he told them, that he did not deſire to deprive any of them of any part of their Subſtance, but only they ſhould agree to pay him the Tenth of what they ſav'd in their Trading with the *Arabs*. They were at firſt very unwilling to come to this; but after Debate, conſidering his Quality, as having been once their Governour, tho now reduc'd to the ſame Condition with themſelves, and that when Neceſſity requir'd it, he had not ſpar'd his own private Subſtance for the publick Good, they at laſt agreed to it. This done, he appoints a Tith-man to gather it, and in a few Days it amounted to a very conſiderable Sum. The Sweetneſs of this Gain, inſtead of extinguiſhing, encreas'd his Thirſt; whereupon in a ſecond Meeting he told them, that

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it would be a long time before what he had laid out would be repaid at this Rate, and propos'd, that either they ſhould admit him one of their Company, or elſe inſtead of a Tenth, pay him a Fourth Part of all their Gains. The People, vex'd to the Heart at this ſqueezing, inſatiable Temper, cry'd out, *Away with him, and all ſuch unreaſonable Wretches, we had better be governed by the Saracens than ſuch; for they are better, and more juſt*; and with a great Noiſe and Shout ruſh'd upon him, and killed him. The Saracens without heard the Noiſe, but did not know what was the Matter; neither would *Raphi* go into the City contrary to the Agreement, but ſaid, if there was any Difference between them, and they came out to him, he would endeavour to make them Friends. Preſently after they came thronging out to him, and acquainted him with what they had done; how civil they were to their Prefect, in anſwering his firſt Demand, and how unreaſonable he had been in coveting more, deſiring *Raphi* to come into the City, and govern it himſelf; which he refus'd, till he had wrote to *Abu Obeidah*; who ſent him

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Word, that ſince the People were willing, he ought not to ſcruple it: Upon which he and his Men went into *Baalbec*, on the twentieth Day of *January*, in the Year of our Lord, ſix hundred and thirty ſix.

Hegjrah 15th. A. D. 636.

Leaving *Baalbec*, we muſt now march to *Hems*; before which *Abu Obeidah* having brought his Army, before any Attempt made upon it, ſent to the Governour the following Letter.

In the Name of the moſt merciful God.

From Abu Obeidah Ebn Aljerâhh, *Lieutenant in* Syria *to the Emperor of the Faithful* Omar, Ebn Alchitâb, (*whom God bleſs*) *and General of his Forces. The moſt mighty God has conquer'd ſeveral Places by our Hands; wherefore do not let the Greatneſs of your City, nor the Strength of your Buildings, nor the Plenty of your Stores, nor the Bigneſs of your Bodies, deceive you: For your City is no more in our Hands, when we come to war againſt it, than if we ſhould ſet a Pot upon a Stone in the midſt of our Camp, and all the Army ſhould come round about it, to take every one of them a mouthful. In the firſt Place therefore, I invite you to our*

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Religion, and that Law which our Prophet Mahomet, *of bleſſed Memory, brought us. Which if you ſhall receive, then ſhall you partake with us in all our Fortunes, good and bad; and we will ſend you Men to inſtruct you in your Religion, as God has commanded us. If you refuſe the Mahometan Religion, we ſhall continue you in your Poſſeſſions, paying Tribute. If neither of theſe Conditions pleaſe you, come out and fight us, till God, who is the beſt Judge, ſhall determine between us.*

This being no ſooner receiv'd than rejected with the utmoſt Scorn, both Sides prepar'd themſelves, the Saracens for an Aſſault, the Beſieged for their Defence. The Beſieged ſallying, made ſo good a Days Work of it, that the Saracens had little Reaſon to boaſt of their Victory. There was preſent a great Man among the *Arabs*, a Perſon of extraordinary Sagacity and Penetration, and had himſelf many times commanded an Army with good Conduct and Succeſs: He, conſidering well the Strength of the Place, and the Courage and Reſolution of the Inhabitants, told *Abu Obeidah* privately, that he might ſooner expect to conquer *Hems* by Stra-

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tagem, than Force of Arms, and propos'd to him to raiſe the Siege, if he could induce the Beſieged to let him have five Day's Proviſion for his Men and Horſes, upon that Condition: By which Means their Stock of Proviſion would be very much diminiſh'd, and he might take a fit Opportunity of ſurprizing them. This Advice being approv'd, *Abu Obeidah* acquainted the Beſieged with his Deſign of intermitting the Siege of *Hems*, and trying his Fortune at other Places, of which there ſtill remain'd unconquer'd a great Number in *Syria* very well fortify'd, upon the Condition afore-mentioned. The People willing at any Rate to get rid of ſuch troubleſome Neighbours, conſidering withal thoſe many Accidents that might prevent their ever returning thither, or at leaſt defer it a long time, eaſily aſſented. The Governour himſelf being as willing as any to compound with the Saracens upon theſe Terms, told his People, That the *Arabs* were like wild Beaſts, greedy of Prey; wherefore he thought it the beſt way to give them ſomething to fill their Bellies, and ſend them packing. Upon this he ſends ſome of the chief Clergy to *Abu Obeidah*, to make the Agreement,

greement, and take a Copy of the Articles: Which being done, the Citizens brought out their Proviſion, according to the Agreement. *Abu Obeidah* told them, that ſince their intended March was likely to be tedious, he ſhould be very glad to buy the Remainder of their Proviſion. The People were willing to ſell, and the Mahometans bought as long as they had any thing left to buy withal, or exchange for. Omar. Alwákidi.

Some Spies belonging to the Emperor, being at that time in the Saracen Camp, and perceiving the *Emeſſens* ſet open their Gates, and bring out their Proviſions, without taking time to inform themſelves thoroughly of the Cauſe of it, went and ſpread a Report about the Country, that *Hems* was ſurrender'd, to the great Surprize and Diſcouragement of the reſt, who had their Hearts daily fill'd with the increaſing Terror of the Saracens. *Abu Obeidah* from *Hems* went to *Arreſtân*, a ſtrong Place, well water'd, and full of Soldiers; where his Summons being rejected, he deſir'd the Favour of the Governour of the Caſtle to leave ſome old Lumber, which would be troubleſome and cumberſome to them in their

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ſpeedy March. This was without much Scruple granted, all being deſirous of their Abſence upon any Terms. Upon this he takes twenty Cheſts, and encloſing in them twenty choſen Men; to prevent all Suſpicion, puts Locks upon the Out-ſides of them, the Bottoms of the Cheſts being ſo contriv'd, as to ſlip backward and forward as he within pleaſed. Theſe receiv'd into the Caſtle, the Saracens march'd, only *Caled* was left with ſome Forces, by way of Ambuſcade, to aſſiſt thoſe in the Cheſts. The Saracens gone, the Chriſtians went to Church to give Thanks for the Departure of their Enemies, and were heard ſinging Pſalms by *Derar*, *Abdo'rrhamân*, and *Abdo'llah* in the Cheſts, who taking this Opportunity, came forth, and having ſeiz'd the Governour's Lady, demanded the Keys of the Gates. From thence they went to the Church, where they, without Difficulty, ſurpriz'd the unarm'd Multitude. Then *Abdo'llah Ebn Jaafar*, who commanded them, ſent five of them with the Keys to open the Gates, and cry out *Allàh Acbar*; which done, *Caled*, who was within hearing, came up, and *Arreſtân* was taken without Oppoſition. This

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This made the Conditions much more eaſy to the Inhabitants, the *Saracens* not expecting ſuch an unbloody Conqueſt. Wherefore, they reſigning themſelves without any more to do, had their Liberty granted to go where they pleas'd. Some of 'em chang'd their Religion, tho the greater Number ſtill retain'd their Chriſtianity, and went to *Hems*.

Two Thouſand Men being left in Garriſon at *Arreſtân*, *Abu Obeidah* moves with his Army to *Shaizar*. He had no ſooner ſent his Summons, than there aroſe a great Diſpute about ſurrendring the Place: The Conqueſt of *Arreſtân*, *Baalbec*, *Damaſcus*, *Boſtra*, and as they ſuppos'd of *Hems*, gave them juſt reaſon to fear, that they ſhould not be able to defend *Shaizar*, not ſuperiour to thoſe Places, either in Strength of its Situation, or Number of its Soldiers. The Governour held out obſtinately, and gave them a great deal of reproachful Language, ſwearing and curſing them, and commanded his Servants to ſtrike ſome of them. The chief Men, provok'd at this tyrannical Uſage, drew their Swords, and fell upon him and his Party. Having

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made a quick Diſpatch of them, they open'd the Gates, and ſurrender'd to *Abu Obeidah*, who receiv'd 'em very gladly, and gave them hearty Thanks for ſaving him the Trouble of Fighting: adding, *That ſince they had behav'd themſelves ſo well, and expreſs'd ſuch a Deſire of living under the Government of the Saracens, he would not diſmiſs them without ſome diſtinguiſhing Mark of his Favour.* Upon which he told 'em, *That he would not force any of them to change their Religion againſt their Will, nor put them to any Extremities; but if any of them would come in of their own accord, they ſhould pay no Tax or Cuſtom, as other Mahometans did, for two Years. If they choſe to continue in their old Religion, they ſhould pay no Tribute for the ſpace of one Year.*

Shaizar was now taken into Poſſeſſion, and *Abu Obeidah* reminded his Muſlemans, that they were no longer under any Obligation to the People of *Hems*, having punctually perform'd whatever they had promis'd them. The Governour of *Hems* was not ſo well ſatisfy'd, for as ſoon as the Saracen Army came to appear before the City, he ſent a Meſſenger to expoſtulate

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late with *Abu Obeidah* his Perfidy and Breach of Promiſe: Who gave him no other Anſwer, than that he deſir'd thoſe Clergy who had made the Agreement with him firſt ſhould come to him again, and let themſelves be Judges whether or no he had fulfill'd his Promiſe to a Tittle. Upon their coming, he ask'd them, *Did not I make an Agreement with you, to leave* Hems, *till I had conquer'd ſome other City of* Syria? *And was it not left to my Liberty after that, either to go to any other Place, or return to you?* When this could not be denied, *Well then,* anſwer'd he, *ſince we have conquer'd* Arreſtân *and* Shaizar, *we are under no further Obligation to you, and there remains nothing, but that you ſurrender.*

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There being no Remedy left, nor any one whom they might juſtly blame but themſelves, for not having taken better Care at firſt, they prepar'd to fight. The Inhabitants, tho not a little diſhearten'd when they reflected upon their Scarcity of Proviſion, to which their unſeaſonable Credulity had expos'd them; encourag'd by their Governour, reſolv'd to try their Fortune

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tune in the Field. That Evening they went to Prayers, to implore the Divine Aſſiſtance, the Governour himſelf receiving the Communion at St. *George*'s Church, (ſince turn'd into a Moſque.) When he came back, he eat for his Supper a whole roaſted Kid, and ſat up drinking Wine all Night. Thus prepar'd for Battle, having put on very rich Cloaths, he ſally'd out in the Morning at the Head of five Thouſand Horſe, compleatly arm'd, all Men of approv'd Courage, and reſolv'd to die for the Defence of their Country. And tho the *Saracens* came out againſt them with a much greater Number, yet they nevertheleſs ſtood their Ground, without the leaſt Expreſſion of Fear or Concern. The Chriſtian Archers gall'd the Saracens terribly with poiſon'd Arrows, and charg'd them with ſuch Courage, that they were forc'd to give way. Whil'ſt *Caled* was labouring to reſtore the Battle, he made a very narrow Eſcape; for, engaging with one of the *Greeks*, his Sword broke in his Hand: Upon which, cloſing with his Adverſary, he ſqueez'd him ſo cloſe to him, that he broke his Ribbs, and threw him down dead off from

from his Horſe. About Noon, *Mirkâl* and *Meiſarah* made an Impreſſion upon the Right Wing of the Chriſtians, and *Kais Ebn Hobeirah* upon the Left. But among all the *Saracens*, none ſignaliz'd himſelf ſo much that Day as *I'krimah*, *Caled*'s Couſin: He, thirſting after the imaginary Joys of *Mahomet*'s Fools Paradiſe, cry'd out aloud, *Methinks I ſee the black-ey'd Girls looking upon me, one of which, if ſhe ſhould appear in this World, all Mankind would die for the Love of her. And I ſee in the Hand of one of them an Handkerchief of green Silk, and a Cap made of precious Stones, and ſhe beckons me, and calls out, Come hither quickly, for I love thee.* With theſe Words charging the Chriſtians, he made Havock where he went, till obſerv'd at laſt by the Governour of *Hems*, he was ſtruck through with a Jav'lin. When Night parted them, the *Saracens* return'd to their Camp, having had the worſt of it all that Day. *Caled*, aſſuring himſelf that this Succeſs would eaſily induce the *Greeks* to believe the Saracens afraid of them, perſwaded *Abu Obeidah* to fly before 'em the next Morning, to draw them into Diſorder. Nor did this Advice fail

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fail of the deſir'd Succeſs; for the *Greeks* had beaten 'em too well the Day before, to entertain the leaſt Suſpicion that their Flight was feign'd. Whereupon, purſuing them unwarily, and out of Order, they were about Noon ſurrounded by the returning *Saracens*; *Who*, to uſe my Author's own Expreſſion, *fell upon them like Eagles upon a Carcaſe*. Some of the *Greeks* had ventur'd to plunder the *Saracens* Tents; but whilſt they were differently employ'd, ſome in the Purſuit, others in the Spoil, the far greater part of 'em were intercepted by the *Saracens*; nor had any of 'em eſcap'd, unleſs reliev'd by ſome of the Beſieged ſallying from the City. The Governour fell among the reſt, eaſily diſtinguiſh'd by his red Face, large Size, and rich Apparel, perfum'd with Musk. This Defeat determin'd the Beſieg'd to ſurrender; but the *Saracens*, who having heard ſo often of the Emperor's Preparation againſt them, expected a bloody Battle daily, had no leiſure to ſtay and take Poſſeſſion, nor any Men to ſpare by way of Garriſon: Wherefore they took the Chriſtians at their Word, and never a Man of them went into the City,

City, till after the great Battle of *Yermouk*, which determin'd the Fate of *Syria*, and put the *Saracens* out of all Fear of ever meeting from the Emperor the like Oppoſition. The *Saracens* departed from *Hems*, having loſt that Day 235 Men. The Chriſtians burying their Dead, found 'em above one Thouſand ſix hundred. Omar. Alwákidi.

HERACLIUS, weary'd with a conſtant and uninterrupted Succeſſion of Meſſengers of ill News; which, like thoſe of *Job*, came every Day treading one upon the Heels of another; griev'd at the Heart to ſee the *Roman* Empire, once the Miſtreſs of the World, now become the Scorn and Triumph of *Barbarian* Inſolence; reſolv'd, if poſſible, to put an End to the Outrages of the *Saracens* once for all; and, in order to it, rais'd ſuch an Army out of all Parts of his Dominions, as, ſince the firſt Invaſion of the *Saracens*, had never appear'd in *Syria* before. Not much unlike one engag'd in ſingle Combat, who, diſtruſtful of his own Abilities, and fearing the worſt, ſummons together his whole Strength, in hopes of ending the Diſpute with one determining Stroke. For-

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Forces were ſent to all defenſible Places, which this Inundation of the *Saracens* had as yet left untouch'd: Particularly to *Cæſarea*, and all the Sea-coaſt of *Syria*; as *Tyre* and *Sidon*, *Accah*, *Joppa*, *Tripolis*, *Beirout*, and *Tiberias*, beſides another Army to defend *Jeruſalem*. But the main Body of all, which was deſign'd to give Battle to the whole Forces of the *Saracens*, was commanded by one *Mahân*, an *Armenian*, which I take to be the very ſame that the *Greek* Hiſtorians call *Manuel*. When the Emperor had giv'n the Generals his beſt Advice, and charg'd 'em to behave themſelves like Men, and eſpecially to take Care that there was no Differences nor Diſſentions among themſelves; He ask'd 'em what ſhould be the Reaſon of this ſurprizing Succeſs of the *Arabs*, inferior to the *Greeks* both in Number, Strength, Arms and Diſcipline? After a ſhort Silence, a grave Man ſtood up, and told him, *That the Reaſon was, becauſe the Greeks had walked unworthy of their Chriſtian Profeſſion, and changed their Religion from what it was when* Jeſus Chriſt *firſt delivered it to them, injuring and oppreſſing one another, taking Uſury, com-*

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committing Fornication, and fomenting Strife and Variance among themselves. And indeed the Vices of these Christians were at that time so flagrant, as to make them stink in the Nostrils of the very *Infidels*, * confess'd by the *Greek* Writers themselves, and aggravated by the *Arabick* ones. The Emperor answer'd, *That he was too too sensible of it*; adding, *That he had Thoughts of continuing with them there no longer; but leaving his Army to their Management, would withdraw himself to* Constantinople. In answer to which, they represented to him, how much his Departure would reflect upon his Honour, what a lessening it would be to him in the Eyes of his own Subjects, and what occasion of Triumph it would afford to his Enemies the *Saracens*. Upon this they took their Leave, and prepar'd for their March: *Mahân*, besides a vast Army of *Asiaticks* and *Europeans*, having join'd to him *Jabalah Ebno'l Ayham*, King of the Christian Arabs, who had under him sixty Thousand Men. These *Mahân* commanded to march always in the Front, saying, *There was nothing like Diamond to cut Diamond.* This great Army, rais'd for the

* Οὐτῶ δὲ ἡ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τότε ὑπὸ τε τῶν βασιλέων ἡ τῶν δυσσεβῶν Ἱερέων ταραττομένης, ἀνέστη ὁ ἐρήμιχ & Ἀμαλὴκ τύπτων ἡμᾶς τὸν λαὸν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ, ἡ γίνεται πρώτη φόρα πλώσις τῆ ῥωμαϊκῆ στρατιᾶ, ἡ καλὰ τὸ Γαβιδὰν λέγω ἡ Ἱερμιχὰν ἡ τὴν ἀδεσμον αἱμαλοχυσίαν, Theophan. *p.* 276.

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the Defence of Chriſtian People, was little leſs inſupportable than the Saracens themſelves, committing all manner of Diſorder and Outrage as they paſs'd along, eſpecially when they came to any of thoſe Places which had made any Agreement with the Saracens, or ſurrender'd to them, they ſwore and curs'd, and revil'd the Inhabitants with reproachful Language, and compell'd them by Force to bear them Company. The poor People excus'd their Submiſſion to the Saracens, by their Inability to defend themſelves, and told the Soldiers, that if they did not approve of what they had done, they ought themſelves to have come ſooner to their Relief.

The News of this great Army having reach'd the Saracens Ears, whilſt they were at *Hems*, fill'd them full of Apprehenſions, and put them to a very great Streight which way to manage in this critical Juncture. Some of them would very willingly have ſhrunk back, and return'd to *Arabia*: In which they propos'd to themſelves a double Advantage, ſpeedy Aſſiſtance from their Friends, and the great Scarcity to which the numerous Army of

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of the Enemy muſt needs be reduc'd in that barren Country; but *Abu Obeidah* fearing leſt ſuch a Retreat might by the *Caliph* be interpreted Cowardice in him, durſt not approve of this Advice. Others rather choſe to die in the Defence of thoſe ſtately Buildings, fruitful Fields, and pleaſant Meadows they had won by the Sword, than retire Volunteers to their former ſtarving Condition; and propos'd to ſtay there where they were, and expect the Approach of the Enemy. *Caled* was not for ſtaying there, it being too near *Caſarea*, where *Conſtantine* the Emperor's Son lay with 40000 Men; but propos'd to march to *Yermouk*, where they might expect Aſſiſtance from the *Caliph*. Aſſoon as *Conſtantine* heard of their Departure, he ſent a chiding Letter to *Mahân*, and bad him mend his Pace. *Mahân* advanc'd, but made no haſt to give the Saracens Battle, having receiv'd Orders from the Emperor to make Overtures of Peace, which were no ſooner propos'd than rejected by *Abu Obeidah*. There paſs'd ſeveral Meſſages between them. The Saracens endeavouring to bring their Countryman *Jabalah Ebno'l Ayham*, with his

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Chriſtian Arabs, to a Neutrality, were anſwer'd, that they were oblig'd to ſerve the Emperor, and reſolv'd to fight. Upon this, *Caled*, contrary to the Advice of all, prepar'd to give him Battle firſt, before *Mahân* ſhould come up, with a very inconſiderable Number of Men, pick'd out of the whole Army; urging, that the *Chriſtians* being the Army of the Devil, had no Advantage by their Numbers againſt the Saracens, the Army of God. It was obſerv'd, that *Caled* in chooſing his Men, call'd out more * *Anſers* than † *Mohagerins*, which occaſion'd ſome grumbling among them, being in doubt whether it was becauſe he reſpected them moſt, or becauſe he had a Mind to expoſe them to the greateſt Danger, that he might favour the others: A very impertinent Scruple, in my Opinion, ſince he was to go with them himſelf. *Caled* told them, that he had choſen them without any ſuch Regard, only becauſe they were Perſons he could depend upon, whoſe Valour he had prov'd, and who had the Faith rooted in their Hearts. One *Cathib* happening to be call'd after his Brother *Sahal*, looking upon himſelf to be the better Man, reſented it as

* *Thoſe of* Medinah *are called by that Name, becauſe they help'd* Mahomet *in his Flight from* Meccah.

† *Thoſe that fled with him are called* Mohagerins; *and by theſe Names the Inhabitants of* Meccah *and* Medinah *are often diſtinguiſh'd, as has been obſerv'd in the beginning of this Book.*

as an high Affront, and abus'd *Caled*, who gave him very gentle modeſt Anſwers, to the great Satisfaction of all, eſpecially *Abu Obeidah*, who, after a ſhort Contention, made them ſhake Hands. *Caled* indeed was admirable for this, that he knew no leſs how to govern his Paſſions, than command an Army; the latter of which proves to moſt great Generals the eaſier Task of the two. His Succeſs in this very hazardous Undertaking was beyond all Expectation, for he put *Jabalah*'s *Arabs* into Diſorder, and kill'd a great many, loſing very few of his own upon the Spot, and five Priſoners, three of which were *Yezid Ebn Abi Sophyan*, *Raphi Ebn Omeirah*, and *Derar Ebno'l Azwàr*; all Men of great Note, and frequently mention'd before. *Abu Obeidah* ſent *Abdo'llah Ebn Kort* with an Expreſs to *Omar*, acquainting him with their whole Circumſtances, begging his Prayers, and ſome freſh Recruits of * *UNITARIANS*, a Title they glory in, reckoning themſelves the only Aſſerters of the Unity of the Deity. *Omar* and the whole Court were extremely ſurpriz'd, but comforted themſelves with the Promiſes made to them in the *Alcoran*,

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* *Arab.* Mowahhidîna.

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which ſeem'd now to be all they had left to truſt to. To encourage the People, he went into the Pulpit, and ſhew'd them the Excellency of fighting for the Cauſe of God, and return'd an Anſwer to *Abu Obeidah*, full of ſuch ſpiritual Conſolation as the *Alcoran* could afford. *Omar* commanded *Abdo'llah*, that aſſoon as e'er he came near the Camp, before he deliver'd the Letter, he ſhould cry out, *Good News*, to comfort the Muſlemans, and eaſe them in ſome meaſure of thoſe perplexing Apprehenſions they labour'd under. He having received his Letter and Meſſage, together with *Omar*'s Bleſſing, ſet forwards on his Journey towards the Army; but recollecting himſelf, he remember'd that he had forgot to pay his Reſpects at *Mahomet*'s Tomb, which whether or no he ſhould ever ſee again, was very uncertain: Upon which he haſtens to *Ayeſha*'s Houſe, (the Place where *Mahomet* was buried) and finds her ſitting by the Tomb, with *Ali* and *Abbâs*, and *Haſan* and *Hoſein*, (*Ali*'s Sons) one upon *Ali*'s Lap, the other upon *Abbâs*'s. *Ali* was reading the Chapter of *Beaſts*, being the ſixth of the *Alcoran*; and *Abbâs* the Chapter of *Hud*, which is the eleventh.

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venth. *Abdo'llah* having paid his Reſpects to *Mahomet*, *Ali* ask'd him, whether he did not think of going? He anſwer'd, Yes; but he fear'd he ſhould not get to the Army before the Battle, which he willingly would do, if poſſible. *If you deſired a ſpeedy Journey,* (anſwer'd *Ali*) *why did not you ask* Omar *to pray for you? Don't you know, that the Prayers of* Omar *will not be turn'd back? Becauſe the Apoſtle of God ſaid of him,* "If there were a Prophet to be "expected after me, it would be *O-*"*mar*, whoſe Judgment agrees with "the Book of God. *The Prophet ſaid of him beſides,* "If any [univerſal] Ca-"lamity were to deſcend from Hea-"ven upon Mankind, *Omar* would e-"ſcape from it. *Wherefore if* Omar *pray'd for thee, thou ſhalt not ſtay long for an Anſwer from God.* *Abdo'llah* told him, *That he had not ſpoken one Word in Praiſe of* Omar, *but what he was very ſenſible of before, only he deſir'd to have his Prayers and thoſe of the reſt of the Muſlemans added too, eſpecially being at the Tomb of the Prophet.* All that were preſent lifting up their Hands to Heaven, *Ali* ſaid, *O God! I beſeech thee, for the ſake of this choſen Apoſtle* (*in whoſe Name* A-

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dam *pray'd, and thou anſwereds't his Petition, and forgaveſt his Sins*) *that thou wouldſt grant to* Abdo'llah Ebn Kort *a ſafe and ſpeedy Return, and aſſiſt the Followers of thy Prophet with thy Help, O thou who alone art great and munificent!* Immediately he ſet forth, and return'd to the Camp with ſuch incredible ſpeed, that the *Saracens* there were ſurpriz'd. But their Admiration ceas'd, when he inform'd them of *Omar*'s Bleſſing, and *Ali*'s Prayers at *Mahomet*'s Tomb.

Recruits were inſtantly rais'd to ſend out of *Arabia* to the Army. *Saïd Ebn Amir* commanded them, having receiv'd a Flag of red Silk at the Hands of *Omar*, who told him that he gave him that Commiſſion in hopes of his behaving himſelf well in it; adviſing him, among other things, not to follow his Appetites; not forgetting to put him in hopes of further Encouragement, if he ſhould deſerve it. *Said* thank'd him for his Advice; adding, that if he follow'd it, he ſhould be ſav'd. *And now* (ſays *Said*) *as you have adviſed me, ſo let me adviſe you. Speak on*, ſays *Omar*, *I bid you then*, (added the other) *fear God more than Men, and not the contrary; and love all the Muſle-*

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Muſlemans as your ſelf and your Family, as well thoſe at a Diſtance, as thoſe near to you. And command that which is Praiſe-worthy, and forbid that which is otherwiſe. *Omar*, all the while he ſpoke, ſtood looking ſtedfaſtly upon the Ground, leaning his Forehead upon his Staff. Then he lift up his Head, and the Tears ran down his Cheeks, and he ſaid, *Who is able to do this without the Divine Aſſiſtance.* *Ali* bad *Saïd* make good uſe of the *Caliph*'s Advice, and diſmiſs'd him. *Saïd* marching towards the Army, loſt his Way, unfortunately for the Chriſtians; for by that means he happen'd upon the Prefect of *Amman* with five thouſand Men. *Saïd* cut all the Foot to Pieces; the Prefect flying with the Horſe, was intercepted by a Party ſent out from the Saracen Camp to forage. *Saïd* at firſt thought they had fallen together by the Ears among themſelves, but when he came up, and heard the *Tecbîn*, he was well ſatisfy'd. *Zobeir* thruſt the Prefect through with a Lance; of the reſt never a Man eſcap'd. The *Saracens* cut off all their Heads, then flay'd them, and ſo carried 'em upon the Points of their Lances, preſenting a moſt horri-

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ble Spectacle to all that part of the Country, till they came to the Army, which receiv'd new Courage, by the Acceſſion of this Recruit ſent from the *Caliph*, conſiſting of eight thouſand Men.

However their Satisfaction was very much allay'd by the Loſs of thoſe five Priſoners, which *Jabalah Ebno'l Ayham* had taken. It fortun'd that *Mahân* deſir'd *Abu Obeidah* to ſend ſome body to him to diſcourſe with; which being granted, *Caled* profer'd his Service, and by *Abu Obeidah*'s Advice took along with him an hundred choſen Men, of the beſt Soldiers in the Army. Being met by the Out-Guards, the Chief of which was *Jabalah Ebno'l Ayham*, and examin'd, they were order'd to ſtay there till the General's Pleaſure ſhould be known. *Mahân* would have had *Caled* come to him alone, and leave his Men behind him: Which he refuſing, they were commanded, when they came near, to alight from their Horſes, and deliver their Swords; to which when they would not ſubmit, they were at laſt permitted to enter as they pleas'd. They found *Mahân* ſitting upon a Throne, and there were

were Seats prepar'd for them. But they refus'd to ſit on them, and removing them, ſat down upon the Ground. *Mahân* ask'd them the Reaſon of their doing ſo, and tax'd them with want of Breeding. To which *Caled* anſwer'd, *That that was the beſt Breeding which was from God, and what God has prepared for us to ſit down upon, is purer than your Tapeſtries*; defending their Practice from a Sentence of their Prophet *Mahomet*, back'd with this Text of the *Alcoran*, * *Out of it*, (meaning the Earth) *we have created you, and to it we ſhall return you, and out of it we ſhall bring you another time.* *Mahân* began then to expoſtulate with *Caled*, concerning their coming into *Syria*, and all thoſe Hoſtilities which they had committed there; but the Account is too tedious to be inſerted, eſpecially ſince I have before given an Account of ſome Conferences much of the ſame Nature. Only this may be obſerved, that *Mahân* ſeem'd ſatisfy'd with *Caled*'s way of talking, and ſaid, that he had before that time entertain'd a quite different Opinion of the *Arabs*, having been inform'd that they were a fooliſh ignorant People. *Caled* confeſs'd, that

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* Alcoran, *Chap.* XX. 57.

that

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that was the Condition of moſt of them, till God ſent their Prophet *Mahomet* to lead 'em into the right Way, and teach them to diſtinguiſh Good from Evil, and Truth from Error. Sometimes they argu'd very coolly, and then again flew into a violent Paſſion, till at laſt *Caled* told *Mahân*, that he ſhould one Day ſee him led with a Rope about his Neck to *Omar*, to be beheaded. *Mahân* told him, that the receiv'd Law of all Nations ſecur'd Ambaſſadors from Violence, which he ſuppos'd had encourag'd him to take that indecent Freedom; however, he was reſolv'd to chaſtize his Inſolence in the Perſons of his Friends the five Priſoners, who ſhould inſtantly be beheaded. *Caled* bad him attend, and ſwore by God, by *Mahomet*, and the holy Temple of *Meccah*, that if he kill'd 'em, he ſhould die by his Hands, and every *Saracen* preſent ſhould kill his Man, let the Conſequences be what they would; and immediately roſe from his Place, and drew his Sword. The like did all the reſt of the *Saracens*. But when *Mahân* told him, that he would not meddle with him for the aforeſaid Reaſon, they ſheath'd their Swords, and talk'd

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talk'd calmly again; after which *Mahân* made *Caled* a Preſent of the Priſoners, and deſir'd him to give him his Scarlet Tent, which *Caled* had brought with him, and pitch'd hard by. *Caled* freely gave it him, and refus'd to take any thing, (tho *Mahân* gave him his Choice of whatever he lik'd beſt) thinking his Kindneſs abundantly recompens'd in the reſtoring the Priſoners.

Both ſides now prepar'd for that Fight which was to determine the Fate of *Syria*. The Particulars are too tedious to be related, for they continu'd Fighting ſeveral Days. *Abu Obeidah* reſign'd the whole Command of the Army to *Caled*, ſtanding himſelf in the Rear, under the yellow Flag which *Abubeker* had given him at his firſt ſetting forth into *Syria*; being the ſame which *Mahomet* himſelf had fought under at the Battle of *Chaibar*. That was judg'd by *Caled* the propereſt Place for him, not only becauſe he was no extraordinary Soldier, but that the Reverence of him might prevent the Flight of the *Saracens*, who were now like to be as hard put to it, as at any time ſince they firſt bore Arms. For the

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the ſame Reaſon the Women were plac'd in the Rear. The *Greeks* charg'd ſo courageouſly, and with ſuch vaſt Numbers, that the Right Wing of the *Saracen* Horſe was quite born down, and broken off from the main Body of the Army. But no ſooner did they turn their Backs, but they were ſo warmly receiv'd by the Women, who us'd them ſo ill, and loaded 'em with ſuch Plenty of Reproaches, that they were glad to return every Man to his Poſt, and choſe rather to face the Enemy, than endure the Storm. However they had much ado to bear up, and were preſs'd ſo hard by the *Greeks*, that they were ſometimes oblig'd to forget what their Generals had ſaid a little before the Fight, who told 'em, *That Paradiſe was before them, and the Devil and Hell-fire behind them.* *Abu Sophyan*, who had us'd that very Expreſſion himſelf, was forc'd to retreat, and receiv'd from one of the Women an hearty Blow over the Face with a Tent-pole for his Pains. Night at laſt parted 'em, about ſuch time as the Victory began to encline to the *Saracens*, who had been thrice beaten back, and as often reſtor'd by the Wo-

Women. Then *Abu Obeidah* ſaid at once thoſe Prayers which belong'd to two ſeveral Hours; I ſuppoſe becauſe his Men ſhould have the more time to reſt, which he was very tender of; walking about the Camp, looking after the wounded Men, and oftentimes binding up their Wounds with his own Hands; telling them, *That their Enemies ſuffer'd the ſame Pain which they did, but had not that Reward to expect from God which they had.*

Among other ſingle Combats, of which there were ſeveral fought between the two Armies; it chanc'd that *Serjabil Ebn Shahhnah* was engag'd with an Officer of the Chriſtians, who was much too ſtrong for him. The Reaſon our Author aſſigns, is, becauſe *Serjabil* was wholly given up to Watching and Faſting. *Derar* thought he ought not to ſtand ſtill and ſee the Prophet's Secretary kill'd; and took his Dagger, whilſt the Combatants were over Head and Ears in Duſt, and coming behind the Chriſtian, ſtabb'd him to the Heart. The *Saracens* gave *Derar* Thanks for his Service; but he ſaid that he would receive no Thanks but from God. Upon this there aroſe

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a Difference between *Serjabil* and *Derar* concerning the Spoil of this Officer. *Derar* claim'd it, as being the Perſon that killed him. *Serjabil*, as having engag'd him, and tir'd him out firſt. The Matter being referr'd to *Abu Obeidah*, he propos'd the Caſe to the Caliph, concealing the Names of the Perſons concern'd; who ſent him word, that the Spoil of any Enemy was due to him that kill'd him: Upon which *Abu Obeidah* took it from *Serjabil*, and adjudged it to *Derar*.

Another Day, the Chriſtian Archers did ſuch Execution, that beſides thoſe Saracens which were killed, and wounded in other Parts, there were ſeven hundred which loſt each of them one or both their Eyes; upon which Account, the Day in which that Battle was fought is called *Yaumo'ttéwîr*, *The Day of Blinding*: And if any of thoſe that loſt their Eyes that Day, were afterwards ask'd by what Miſchance he was blinded? He anſwer'd, that it was not a *Miſchance*, but a Token of Favour from God; for they gloried as much in thoſe Wounds they receiv'd in the Defence of their Superſtition, as our Enthuſiaſts do in what they call Per-

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Perſecution, and with much the ſame Reaſon. *Abdo'llah Ebn Kort*, who was preſent in all the Wars in *Syria*, ſays, that he never ſaw ſo hard a Battle as that which was fought on that Day at *Yermouk*; and tho the Generals fought moſt deſperately, yet after all they had been beaten, if the Battle had not again been reſtor'd by the Women. *Caulah*, *Derar*'s Siſter, was wounded and fell down. *Opheirah* revenged her Quarrel, and ſtruck off the Man's Head that did it; and asking her how ſhe did, ſhe anſwer'd, *Very well with God, but a dying Woman.* However, ſhe prov'd to be miſtaken, for in the Evening ſhe was walking about as if ſhe had ail'd nothing, and looking after the wounded Men.

The *Greeks* in the Night had another Calamity added to their Misfortune of loſing the Victory, drawn upon them by their own inhuman Barbarity. There was at *Yermouk* a Gentleman of a very plentiful Fortune, who had remov'd from *Hems* thither for the Sweetneſs of the Air. When *Mahân*'s Army came thither, this Gentleman us'd to entertain the Officers, and treat them nobly. To requite him for

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for his Courteſy, whilſt they were revelling at his Houſe, they bad him bring out his Wife to them; which he refuſing, they took her by Force, and abus'd her all Night; and, to add to his Affliction, they took a little Son of his, and cut his Head off. The poor Lady took her Child's Head, and carry'd it to *Mahân*; and having given him an Account of the Outrages committed by his Officers, demanded Satisfaction. He took but little Notice of it, and put her off with a ſlight Anſwer. Upon which her Husband, reſolv'd to take the firſt Opportunity of being reveng'd, went privately over to the Saracens, and acquainted them with his Deſign. Returning back to the *Greeks*, he told them, it was now in his Power to do them ſingular Service: He takes a great Number of them, and brings them to a great Water, very deep, and fordable only at one Place. Five hundred Saracen Horſe, inſtructed by him, come over where the Water was ſhallow, and attack the *Greeks*. but in a very little time return orderly the ſame way they came. The injur'd Gentleman calls out, and encourages the

the *Greeks* to purſue, * who plunging into the Water confuſedly, and not at all acquainted with the Place, periſh'd in great Numbers. In thoſe Battles fought afterwards at *Yermouk*, (which were all in *November*, 636.) the Chriſtians had the worſt, till at laſt *Mahân*'s vaſt Army being broken, and ſhatter'd to Pieces, he was forc'd to fly, and leave the Saracens Maſters of the Field, now quite deliver'd from thoſe terrible Apprehenſions, which the News of this great Preparation had fill'd them with at firſt.

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* Καὶ ἑαυτὸς βάλλοντες εἰς τὰς σενόδους. τῷ Ιερμόχθ ποταμῷ ἐκεῖ ἀπώλοντο ἄρδην. Theoph. p. 280.

A Short time after *Abu Obeidah* wrote to the *Caliph* the following Letter.

In the Name of the moſt merciful God, &c.

This is to acquaint thee, that I encamp'd at Yermouk, *and* Mahân *was near us, with ſuch an Army as the Muſlemans never beheld a greater; but* God *overthrew this Multitude, and gave us the Victory over them, out of his abundant Grace and Goodneſs. We kill'd of them about an hundred and fifty thouſand, and took forty thouſand Priſoners. Of the Muſlemans were killed four thouſand and thirty, to whom* God *has decreed*

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the Honour of Martyrdom. I found ſome Heads cut off, not knowing whether they belong'd to the Muſlemans or Chriſtians, and I prayed over them and buried them. Mahân *was afterwards kill'd at* Damaſcus *by* Nomân Ebn Alkamah. *There was one* Abu Joaid, *that belong'd to them before the Battle, that came from* Hems, *he drowned of them a great Number, unknown to any but God. As for thoſe that fled into the Deſarts and Mountains, we have deſtroy'd them all, and ſtopp'd all the Roads and Paſſages, and God has made us Maſters of their Country, and Wealth, and Children. Written after the Victory from* Damaſcus, *where I ſtay expecting thy Orders concerning the Diviſion of the Spoil. Fare thee well, and the Mercy and Bleſſing of God be upon thee, and all the Muſlemans.*

Omar, in a ſhort Letter, expreſs'd his Satisfaction, and gave the Saracens Thanks for their Perſeverance and Diligence; commanding *Abu Obeidah* to continue where he was till further Orders, but mention'd nothing concerning the Spoil: Upon which *Abu Obeidah* looking upon it as left to his own Diſcretion, divided it, without ſtaying for further Orders. To an Horſeman he gave

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gave thrice as much as to a Footman, and made a Difference beſides between thoſe Horſes which were of the right *Arabian* Breed, (which they look'd upon to be far the beſt) and thoſe that were not, allowing twice as much to the former as to the latter; with which Diviſion they not being ſatisfied, *Abu Obeidah* told them, that the Prophet did the ſame after the Battle of *Chaibar*; which, upon Appeal made to *Omar*, was by him confirm'd. *Zobeir* had at the Battle of *Yermouk* two Horſes, which he us'd to ride by turns: He receiv'd five Lots, three for himſelf, and two for his Horſes. If any Slaves had run away from their Maſters before the Battle, and were afterwards retaken, they were reſtor'd to their proper Maſters, who nevertheleſs receiv'd an equal Share of the Spoil with the reſt.

The Saracens having reſted a Month at *Damaſcus*, and refreſh'd themſelves, *Abu Obeidah* ſent to *Omar*, to know whether he ſhould go to *Cæſarea* or *Jeruſalem*. *Ali* being preſent when *Omar* was deliberating, ſaid, to *Jeruſalem* firſt; adding, that he had heard the Prophet ſay as much. This City they had a great Longing after, as being

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the Seat and Burying-place of a great many of the ancient Prophets, in whom they reckon'd none to be ſo much intereſted as themſelves. *Abu Obeidah* having receiv'd Orders to beſiege it, ſent *Yezid Ebn Abi Sofyan* thither firſt, with 5000 Men; and for five Days together ſent after him conſiderable Numbers of Men, under ſuch Officers as he thought fit to appoint. The *Ieroſolymites* expreſs'd no Signs of Fear, nor would they vouchſafe ſo much as to ſend out a Meſſenger to parley, but made Preparation for a vigorous Defence, and planted their Engines upon the Walls. *Yezid* at laſt went near the Walls, with an Interpreter, to know their Minds, and propoſe the uſual Terms; which being rejected, the Saracens would willingly have aſſaulted the Beſieged, had not *Yezid* told them, that the General had not commanded them to make any Aſſault, but only to ſit down before the City; and thereupon ſent to *Abu Obeidah*, who forthwith gave them Order to fight. The next Morning the Generals ſaid the Morning Prayer, each at the Head of his Men; and, as it were with one Conſent, it ſeems every one of them quoted

quoted this Verſicle out of the *Alcoran*, as being very appoſite and pertinent to their preſent Purpoſe, * *O People! enter ye into the holy Land which God hath decreed for you*; being the twenty fourth Verſe of the fifth Chapter of the *Alcoran*, where the Impoſtor introduces *Moſes* ſpeaking to the Children of *Iſrael*: Which Words the Saracens dexterouſly interpreted to belong no leſs to themſelves, than to their Predeceſſors the *Iſraelites*. Nor have theſe Parts of the World been altogether deſtitute of ſuch able Expoſitors, who, whatever they find in Scripture graciouſly expreſſed in Favour of the People of God, apply to themſelves, without Limitation or Exception: Whatever is ſaid of the Wicked and Ungodly, and all the Terrors and Judgments denounc'd, with a liberal Hand they beſtow upon their Neighbours. After their Prayers were over, they began their Aſſault. The *Ieresolymites* never flinch'd, but ſent them Showers of Arrows from the Walls, and maintain'd the Fight with undaunted Courage, till the Evening. Thus they continu'd fighting ten Days, and on the eleventh, *Abu Obeidah* came up with the Remainder of the Army;

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* Alcoran, Chap. V. 24.

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he had not been there long, before he ſent the Beſieged the following Letter, which I have copied, not out of *Alwákidi*, but † the Author of the *Hiſtory of the Holy Land.*

† MSS. Arab. Pocock. *Num.* 362.

In the Name of the moſt merciful God.

From Abu Obeidah Ebn Aljerahh, *to the chief Commanders of the People of* Ælia, *and the Inhabitants thereof,* ‖Health and Happineſs to every one that follows the right way, *and believes in God and the Apoſtle. We require of you to teſtify, That there is but one God, and* Mahomet *is his Apoſtle, and that there ſhall be a Day of Judgment, and God ſhall raiſe the Dead out of their Sepulchres; and when you have born Witneſs to this, it is unlawful for us either to ſhed your Blood, or meddle with your Subſtance or Children. If you refuſe this, conſent to pay Tribute, and be under us forthwith; otherwiſe I ſhall bring Men againſt you, who love Death better than you do the drinking of Wine, or eating Hogs Fleſh: Nor will I ever ſtir from you, if it pleaſe God, till I have deſtroyed thoſe that fight for you, and made Slaves of your Children.*

‖ Alcoran, *Chap.* XX. 49. *They uſe it almoſt always when they write to Chriſtians; and ſo the King of* Fez *writes to our Princes of* Great-Britain.

The

The eating * Swines Fleſh, and † drinking Wine, are both forbidden in the *Alcoran*, which occaſion'd that Reflection of *Abu Obeidah* upon the Practice of the Chriſtians. The former Prohibition is borrow'd from the Jewiſh Law; and as for the latter, the Reader may ſee more in the ‖ Life of *Mahomet*. The Beſieged, never a whit daunted, held out four Months entire; in all which ſpace, there did not one Day paſs without fighting; and it being Winter time, the Saracens ſuffered a great deal of Hardſhip through the Extremity of the Weather. At laſt, when the Beſieged had well conſider'd the Obſtinacy of the Saracens; who, they had good Reaſon to believe, would never raiſe the Siege till they had taken the City, whatever time it took up, or coſt them Pains. *Sophronius* the Patriarch went to the Wall, and by an Interpreter diſcours'd with *Abu Obeidah*, telling him, that *Jeruſalem* was the *Holy City*, and whoever came into the *Holy Land* with any hoſtile Intent, would render himſelf obnoxious to the Divine Diſpleaſure. To which *Abu Obeidah* anſwer'd, *We know that it is a noble City, and that our Pro-*

Omar. Alwákiki.

* Alcoran, *Chap.* II. 168.
† Alcoran, *Chap.* V. 92, 93.

‖ *Dr.* Prideaux's *Life of* Mahomet, *p.* 106.

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phet Mahomet *went from it in* * *one Night to Heaven, and approached within two Bows Shot of his Lord, or nearer; and that it is the Mine of the Prophets, and their Sepulchres are in it, and we are more worthy to have it in Poſſeſſion than you are; neither will we leave beſieging it, till God delivers it up to us, as he has done other Places before it.* I ſhall not here tranſcribe the Story of *Mahomet*'s Journey to Heaven; the Reader may find a ſufficient Account of it in the Learned Dr. *Prideaux*'s † *Life of* Mahomet. At laſt the Patriarch conſented that the City ſhould be ſurrender'd, upon Condition that the Inhabitants ſhould receive the Articles of their Security and Protection from the *Caliph*'s own Hands, and not by Proxy. And their inſiſting upon this, I take to have been the principal Motive of *Omar*'s Coming, rather than believe a blind Story fabled by ſome *Arab.* Authors, of an old Prophecy kept in *Jeruſalem* concerning *Omar*; in which his Name and Religion were ſpecified, and his Perſon deſcrib'd, and that he was the only Man that could take *Jeruſalem*: Which, however ſtrange it may ſeem, is nevertheleſs not ſo abſurd and ridiculous

* Alcoran, *Chap.* XVII. 1. & LIII. 10.

† P. 53.

culous as what they tell of *Sophronius*'s giving an Account of all this to *Abu Obeidah*, who thereupon ſent for *Omar*. I rather ſhould believe, that this idle Story of the Prophecy may be better explain'd by *Theophanes*, who tells us, that when the City was taken, the Patriarch ſaid, * *This is of a Truth the Abomination of Deſolation ſpoken of by* Daniel *the Prophet ſtanding in the Holy Place.* The Saracens hearing afterwards, that the Patriarch had confeſs'd them to have been propheſied of, made the foregoing Story out of it. ‖ *Jelalo'ddin Aſſoyúti*, a celebrated *Arabick* Author, who, among other Works, has written an Hiſtory of *Jeruſalem*, confeſſes, that there is great Variety and Difference in the Accounts of the taking it: However, all agree in this, that *Omar* was there. The ſame *Jelalo'ddin* agrees with *Alwákidi*, where he tells us, that upon *Abu Obeidah*'s writing to *Omar* to come, he advis'd with his Friends. *Othman*, who afterwards ſucceeded him in the Government, diſſwaded him from going, that the *Ieresolymites* might ſee themſelves deſpis'd, and thought beneath his Notice; but *Ali* was of a quite different Opinion, urging that the

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* Τοῦτον ἰδὼν Σωφρόνιος ἔφη· τοῦτ' ἔστιν ἐπ' ἀληθείας τὸ βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως τὸ ῥηθὲν διὰ Δανιὴλ τοῦ προφήτου, ἑστὼς ἐν τόπῳ ἁγίῳ. Πολλοῖς τε δάκρυσι τὸ χειμαῤῥοῦν φύλον ἀπεδύρετο τῆς εὐσεβείας ὁ πέμαχος. Theoph. p. 281. Edit. Par.

‖ MSS. *Arab.* Huntington. *Num.* 510.

Omar. 'Alwákidi.

the Muſlemans had endur'd great Hardſhip in ſo long a Seige, and ſuffer'd much from the Extremity of the Cold; that the Preſence of the *Caliph* would be a great Refreſhment and Encouragement to them; adding, that the great Reſpect which the Chriſtians had for *Jeruſalem*, as being the Place to which they went on Pilgrimage, ought to be conſider'd; that it ought not to be ſuppos'd that they would eaſily part with it, but ſoon be reinforc'd with freſh Supplies. This Advice of *Ali* being preferr'd to *Othman*'s, the *Caliph* reſolv'd upon his Journey; which, according to his frugal Management, requir'd no great Expence or Equipage. When he had ſaid his Prayers in the *Moſque*, and paid his Reſpects at *Mahomet*'s Tomb, he ſubſtituted *Ali* in his Place, and ſet forwards with ſome Attendance; the greateſt part of which, having kept him Company a little way, return'd back to *Medinah*. He rode upon a red Camel, with a Couple of Sacks; in one of which he carried that ſort of Proviſion, which the *Arabs* call *Sawîk*, which is either Barley, Rice, or Wheat, ſodden and unhusk'd; the other was full of Fruits. Before him

he

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he carried a very great Leather Bottle, (very neceſſary in thoſe deſart Countries to put Water in) behind him a large wooden Platter. Thus furniſh'd and equipp'd, the *Caliph* travell'd, and when he came to any Place where he was to reſt all Night, he never went from it till he had ſaid the Morning Prayer. After which, turning himſelf about to thoſe that were with him, he ſaid, *Praiſe be to God, who has ſtrengthned us with the true Religion, and given us his Prophet, and led us out of Error, and united us (who were at Variance) in the Confeſſion of the Truth, and given us the Victory over our Enemy, and the Poſſeſſion of his Country. O ye Servants of God! Praiſe him for theſe abundant Favours; for God gives Increaſe to thoſe that ask for it, and are deſirous of thoſe things which are with him; and fulfils his Grace upon thoſe that are thankful.* Then filling his Platter with the *Sawîk*, he very liberally entertain'd his Fellow-Travellers, who did, without Diſtinction, eat with him all out of the ſame Diſh.

Whilſt he was upon his Journey, there came, at one of his Stages, a Complaint before him of a Man that

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that had marry'd two Wives, that were Siſters both by Father and Mother; a thing which the old *Arabians*, ſo long as they continu'd in their Idolatry, made no ſcruple of, as appears from that Paſſage in the *Alcoran*, where it is forbidden for the time to come, and expreſs'd after ſuch a manner, as makes it evident to have been no uncommon Practice among 'em. *Omar* was very angry, and cited him and his two Wives to make their Appearance before him forthwith. After the Fellow had confeſs'd that they were both his Wives, and ſo nearly related, *Omar* ask'd him what Religion he might be of, or whether he was a *Muſleman*? *Yes*, ſaid the Fellow. *And did you not know then*, ſaid *Omar*, *that it was unlawful for you to have them, when God has ſaid*, * "Neither marry two Siſters "any more. The Fellow ſwore, that he did not know that it was unlawful, neither was it unlawful. *Omar* ſwore, he lyed, and that he would make him part with one of 'em, or elſe ſtrike his Head off. The Fellow began to grumble, and ſaid, *That he wiſh'd he had never been of that Religion, for he could have done as well without it, and had never been*

* Alcoran, *Chap.* IV. 27.

Omar. Alwákidi.

been a whit the better for it ſince he had firſt profeſs'd it. Upon which *Omar* call'd him a little nearer, and gave him two Blows upon the Crown with his Stick, to teach him better Manners, and learn him to ſpeak more reverently of *Mahometaniſm*; ſaying, *O thou Enemy of God, and of thy ſelf, doſt thou revile* * Iſlâm; *which is the Religion that God and his Angels, and Apoſtles, and the beſt of the Creation have choſen?* And threaten'd him ſeverely, if he did not make a quick Diſpatch, and take which of 'em he lov'd beſt. The Fellow was ſo fond of 'em both, that he would not tell which he'd rather part with: Upon which ſome of *Omar*'s Attendants caſt Lots for the two Women. The Lot falling upon one of 'em three times, the Man took her, and was forc'd to diſmiſs the other. *Omar* call'd him to him, and ſaid, *Pray mind what I ſay to you; if any Man makes Profeſſion of our Religion, and then leaves it, we kill him; therefore ſee you do not renounce* Iſlâm. *And take heed to your ſelf, for if ever I hear that you lie with your Wife's Siſter, which you have put away, you ſhall be ſtoned.*

* *That is the Word by which they expreſs what we call the Mahometan Religion; and it ſignifies,* delivering a Man's ſelf up to God.

Paſ-

Omar. Alwákidi.

Paſſing on a little further, he happen'd to ſee ſome poor Tributaries, whom their hard Maſters, the *Saracens*, were puniſhing for Non-payment, by ſetting them in the Sun; which in that Torrid Zone is very grievous. When *Omar* underſtood the Cauſe of it, he ask'd the poor People what they had to ſay for themſelves? Who anſwer'd, that they were not able. Upon which he ſaid, *Let them alone, and don't compel them to more than they are able to bear; for I heard the Apoſtle of God ſay, DO NOT afflict Men, for thoſe who afflict Men in this World, God ſhall puniſh them in Hell-Fire at the Day of Judgment.* And immediately commanded them to be let go.

Before he got to his Journey's End, he was inform'd of an old Man that ſuffer'd a young one to go Partner with him in his Wife; ſo that one of 'em was to have her four and twenty Hours, and then the other, and ſo ſucceſſively. *Omar* having ſent for them, and upon Examination found them to be Muſlemans, wonder'd at it, and asked the old Man, if he did not know that it was forbidden by the Law of God? They both ſwore, that they knew no ſuch

ſuch thing. *Omar* ask'd the old Man, what made him conſent to ſuch a beaſtly thing? Who anſwer'd, that he was in Years, and his Strength fail'd him, and he had never a Son to look after his Buſineſs, and this young Man was very ſerviceable to him in watering and feeding his Camels, and he had recompens'd him that way; but ſince it was unlawful, he promis'd that it ſhould be ſo no more. *Omar* bad him take his Wife by the Hand, and told him, *That no body had any thing to do with her but himſelf: And for your part, young Man* (ſays he) *if ever I hear that you come near her again, off goes your Head.* Omar. Alwákidi.

Omar, having all the Way he went, ſet Things aright that were amiſs, and diſtributed Juſtice impartially, for which he was ſingularly eminent among the *Saracens*, came at laſt into the Confines of *Syria*, and when he drew near *Jeruſalem* he was met by *Abu Obeidah*, and conducted to the *Saracen* Camp with abundance of Joy. He did not reach thither the ſame Day *Abu Obeidah* met him. In the Morning he ſaid the uſual Prayers, and if we may take my Author's Word for it, preach'd a good Sermon. In which, as he quoted this

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this Text out of the *Alcoran*; * *He whom God ſhall direct is led the right Way; but thou ſhalt not find a Friend to direct him aright whom God ſhall lead into Error.* A Chriſtian Prieſt that ſat before him ſtood up, and ſaid, *God leads no man into Error*; and repeated it. *Omar* ſaid nothing to him, but bad thoſe that ſtood by ſtrike his Head off if he ſhould ſay ſo again. The old Man underſtood what he ſaid, and held his Peace whilſt *Omar* proceeded in his Sermon.

* Alcoran, Chap. XVIII. 16.

Omar met with ſome of the *Saracens* richly dreſs'd in Silks that they had taken by way of Plunder after the Battle of *Yermouk*. He ſpoil'd all their Pride, for he caus'd them to be dragg'd along in the Dirt with their Faces downwards, and their Cloaths to be rent all to Pieces. As ſoon as he came within ſight of the City, he cry'd out, *Allàh Acbar: O God give us an eaſy Conqueſt.* Pitching his Tent, which was made of Hair, he ſat down in it upon the Ground. The Chriſtians hearing that *Omar* was come, from whoſe Hands they were to receive their Articles, were deſirous of ſeeing him. Upon which the Muſlemans would have perſwaded him not to expoſe his Per-

Perſon, for fear of ſome treacherous Deſign. But *Omar* reſolutely anſwer'd, in the Words of the *Alcoran*; * *SAY, There ſhall nothing befall us but what God hath decreed for us; he is our Lord, and in God let all the Believers put their Truſt.* Afterwards, upon Parley, the Beſieg'd reſign'd, and becauſe thoſe Articles of Agreement made by *Omar* with the *Ieresolymites* are, as it were, the Pattern which the *Mahometan* Princes have chiefly imitated, I ſhall not think it improper to give the Senſe of 'em in this Place, as I find it in the * Author of the Hiſtory of *Jeruſalem* (or the Holy Land) which I have mention'd before.

Omar. Alwákidi.

* Alcoran, Chap. IX. 51.

* M. S. Arab. Pocock. Num. 362.

The Articles were theſe; "*That* "*the Chriſtians ſhould build no new* "*Churches, either in the City, or the* "*adjacent Territory: Neither ſhould they* "*refuſe the Muſlemans Entrance into* "*their Churches, either by Night or Day.* "*That they ſhould ſet open the Doors of* "*them to all Paſſengers and Travellers.* "*If any Muſleman ſhould be upon a Jour-* "*ney, they ſhould be oblig'd to entertain* "*him* gratis *the ſpace of three Days.* "*That they ſhould not teach their Children* "*the* Alcoran, *nor talk openly of their* "*Religion, nor perſwade any one to be of*

Omar.

" it; neither ſhould they hinder any of
" their Relations from becoming Mahome-
" tans, if they had an Inclination to it.
" That they ſhould pay Reſpect to the Muſle-
" mans, and riſe up to them if they had a
" mind to ſit down. That they ſhould not
" go like the Muſlemans in their Dreſs;
" nor wear ſuch Caps, Shooes nor Tur-
" bants, nor part their Hair as they do,
" nor ſpeak after the ſame manner, nor be
" called by the ſame * Names us'd by the
" Muſlemans. Neither ſhould they ride
" upon Saddles, nor bear any ſort of Arms,
" nor uſe the Arabick Tongue in the In-
" ſcriptions of their Seals; nor ſell any
" Wine. That they ſhould be obliged to
" keep to the ſame ſort of Habit whereſoe-
" ver they went, and always wear Girdles
" upon their Waſtes. That they ſhould ſet
" no Croſſes upon their Churches, nor ſhow
" their Croſſes nor their Books openly in
" the Streets of the Muſlemans. That
" they ſhould not ring, but only toll their
" Bells. Nor take any Servant that had
" once belong'd to the Muſlemans. Nei-
" ther ſhould they overlook them in their
" Houſes. Some ſay, that Omar com-
" manded the Inhabitants of Jeruſalem to
" have the fore Parts of their Heads ſha-
" ven, and obliged them to ride upon their

" Pan-

* Arab. Kinâon, Cognomina.

" *Pannels ſideways, and not like the Muſle-*
" *mans.* Omar.

Upon theſe Terms the Chriſtians had *Liberty of Conſcience*, paying ſuch Tribute as their Maſters thought fit to impoſe upon 'em; and *Jeruſalem*, once the Glory of the *Eaſt*, was forc'd to ſubmit to a heavier Yoke than ever it had born before. For though the Number of the Slain, and the Calamities of the Beſieged were greater when it was taken by the *Romans*; yet the Servitude of thoſe that ſurviv'd was nothing comparable to this, either in reſpect of the Circumſtances or Duration. For however it might ſeem to be utterly ruin'd and deſtroy'd by *Titus*, yet was it very much recover'd by *Adrian*'s Time. Now, it fell as it were, once for all, into the Hands of the moſt mortal Enemies of the Chriſtian Religion, in which it has continu'd ever ſince; excepting only that Interval of near ninety Years, in which it was poſſeſs'd by the Chriſtians in the *Holy War*.

* The Chriſtians having ſubmitted to the Terms, *Omar* gave them the following Writing under his Hand. * Elmakîn, Eutychius.

Omar.

In the Name of the most merciful God.

From Omar Ebno'l Alchitâb *to the Inhabitants of* Ælia. *They shall be protected and secured both in their Lives and Fortunes, and their Churches shall neither be pull'd down, nor made use of by any but themselves.*

Year of the Hegirah 16. A. D. 637.

Immediately upon this the Gates were open'd, and the *Caliph* and those that were with him went in. The Patriarch kept them Company, and the *Caliph* talk'd with him familiarly, and ask'd him Questions concerning the Antiquities of the Place. Among other Places which they visited, they went into the Temple of the *Resurrection*, and *Omar* sat down in the midst of it. When the time of Prayers was come (the *Mahometans* have five set times of Prayer in a Day) *Omar* told the Patriarch, that he had a mind to pray, and desir'd him to show him a Place where he might perform his Devotion. The Patriarch bad him pray where he was; but he altogether refus'd it. Then he brought him out from thence, and went with him into *Constantine*'s Church, and laid

laid a Matt for him; but he would not pray there. At last he went alone to the Steps which were at the East Gate of St. *Constantine*'s Church, and kneel'd by himself upon one of 'em. Having ended his Prayers, he sat down, and ask'd the Patriarch if he knew why he had refus'd to pray in the Church? The Patriarch confess'd that he could not tell what should be the Reason of it. *Why then* (says *Omar*) *I'll tell you. You know I promis'd you that none of your Churches should be taken away from you, but that you should possess them quietly your selves. Now if I had pray'd in any one of these Churches, I should no sooner have been gone from hence, but the Musselmans would infallibly have taken it away from you. And notwithstanding all you could have alledg'd, they would have said, this is the Place where* Omar *pray'd, and we will pray here too. And so you would have been turned out of your Church, contrary both to my Intention and your Expectation. But because my praying so much as upon the Steps may perhaps give some Occasion to the Musselmans to give you some Disturbance; I shall take what Care I can to prevent that.* So he call'd for Pen, Ink and Paper, and wrote expressly, *That* Omar.

Omar. *none of the Muſlemans ſhould pray upon the Steps in any Multitudes, but one by one. That they ſhould never meet there to go to Prayers. And that the* Muèzzin, *or Crier, that calls the People to Prayers* (for the Mahometans never uſe Bells) *ſhould not ſtand there.* This Paper he gave to the Patriarch for a Security, leſt his praying upon the Steps of the Church ſhould have ſet ſuch an Example to the Muſlemans as might occaſion any Inconvenience to the Chriſtians. A noble Inſtance of ſingular Fidelity and religious Obſervation of Promiſe. This *Caliph* did not think it enough to perform what he engag'd himſelf, but us'd all poſſible Diligence to oblige others to do ſo too. And when the unwary Patriarch had deſir'd him to pray in the Church, not well conſidering what might be the Conſequence; the *Caliph* well knowing how apt Men are to be ſuperſtitious in the Imitation of their Princes and great Men, eſpecially ſuch as they look upon to be Succeſſors of a Prophet, made the beſt Proviſion he could, that nothing which might be pretended to be done in Imitation of him, might any way infringe the Security he had already given.

There

Omar.

* There goes a Story, that the *Caliph* deſir'd the Patriarch to aſſign him a Place where he might build a *Moſque* for the Celebration of the *Mahometan* Service; and that the Patriarch ſhew'd him the Place where *Jacob*'s Stone lay, which he ſlept upon when he ſaw the † Viſion. It ſeems the Stone was quite cover'd with Dirt, and the *Caliph* took up as much as he could of it in his Veſt, and remov'd it. The Muſlemans perceiving what the *Caliph* did, very readily aſſiſted him; ſome filling their Bucklers, ſome their Veſts, others Baskets; that in a ſhort time they had remov'd all the Rubbiſh and Dirt, and clear'd the Stone ‖. *Omar* leaving the Churches to the Chriſtians, built a new Temple in the Place where *Solomon*'s formerly ſtood, and conſecrated it to the *Mahometan* Superſtition. From thence he went to *Bethlehem*, and going into the Church, pray'd there; and when he had done, he gave the Patriarch, under his Hand, the ſame Security for the Church, as he had done before at *Jeruſalem*, ſtrictly forbidding any of the *Mahometans* to pray there, unleſs one ſingle Perſon at a time; and that no *Muézzin* ſhould ever call the People to Prayers there.

* Elmakin, Golius *his Notes upon* Alferganus, *p.* 137.

† Geneſis 28.

‖ Theoph. *p.* 281. *His Words are theſe,* Εἰσελθὼν δὲ Ὁυμαρ ὡς τὴν ἁγίαν πόλιν τειχίνοις ἐχ καμήλων ἐνδύμασιν ἠμφιεσμένῳ ἐῤῥυπωμένοις, ὑπόκεισίν τε σατανικὴν ἐνδεικνύμενον, τὸν ναὸν ἐζήτησεν τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἰδεῖν, ὃν ἀνοδόμησε Σολομών, προσκωτήσειν αὐτὸν ποιῆσαι τῆς αὐτῆς ἐλαττωμίας.

Omar.

But notwithſtanding all the *Caliph*'s Precaution, the *Saracens* afterwards ſeiz'd the Church for their own Uſe; and ſo they did at St. *Conſtantine*'s Church at *Jeruſalem*; for they took half the Porch where thoſe Steps were which *Omar* had pray'd upon, and built a Moſque there, in which they included thoſe Steps: And had *Omar* ſaid his Prayers in the Body of the Church, they would without all queſtion have taken that too.

* Elmakîn, Hegjrah, 16. A. D. 637.

* This ſame Year in which *Jeruſalem* was taken, *Saëd Ebn Abi Wakkâs*, one of *Omar*'s Captains, was making Havock in the Territories of *Perſia*. He went to *Madayen*, formerly the Treaſury and Magazine of *Coſroës*, King of *Perſia*; where they found Money and rich Furniture of all ſorts, ineſtimable. *Elmakîn* ſays, that they took there no leſs than 3000000000 Ducats, beſides *Coſroës*'s Crown and Wardrobe, which was exceeding rich, his Cloaths being all adorned with Gold and Jewels of great Value. Then they open'd the Roof of *Coſroës* his Porch, where they found another very conſiderable Sum. They plunder'd his Armory, well ſtor'd with all ſorts of Weapons. Among other things they brought

brought to *Omar* a Piece of Silk Hangings, sixty Cubits square, all curiously wrought with Needle work. That it was of great Value, appears from the Price which *Ali* had for that Part of it which fell to his Share when *Omar* divided it; which tho it was none of the best of it, yielded him 20000 Pieces of Silver. After this, in the same Year, the *Persians* were defeated by the *Saracens* in a great Battle near *Jaloûlah*. *Yazdejerd* perceiving things grow every day worse and worse, retir'd to *Ferganah*, a City of *Persia*. Omar.

We must now proceed with the Conquest of *Syria*. *Omar* having taken *Jerusalem*, continu'd there about ten Days, to put things in Order. Here my Author tells us a Story of one *Caab*, a *Jew*, who came to him to be proselyted, and told him, that his Father, who was thoroughly skill'd in the Law of *Moses*, had told him concerning *Mahomet*'s being the Seal of the Prophets, and that after him all Inspiration was to cease. Among other things, *Caab* asked him what was said concerning the *Mahometan* Religion in the *Alcoran*. *Omar* quoted such Texts out of it as were suited to his Palate, as having been brought up a *Jew*; namely, Alwákidi.

Omar. Alwákidi.

ly, (a) *Abraham commanded his Sons concerning it*; *and so did* Jacob; saying, O *Children! God has made Choice of a Religion for you*; (b) *wherefore do not die before you be Muslemans.* Again, (c) *Abraham was neither a Jew nor Christian, but a religious Musleman, and was not of the Number of those who join Partners with God.* And then, (d) *He that shall desire any other Religion but* Islam, *it shall not be accepted of him.* Again, (e) *Will they desire any other than God's Religion, to whom every thing in Heaven and Earth (f) submits it self?* And then, (g) *The Religion of* Abraham *your Father: He gave you the Name of Muslemans.* The *Rabbi* convinc'd with so many pregnant Texts, that the *Mahometan* Religion was no other than that of *Abraham* and the Patriarchs, repeated instantly, *La Ilaha*, &c. *There is but one God, and* Mahomet *is his Apostle. Omar* was very well pleas'd with his new Proselyte, and invited him to go along with him to *Medinah*, to visit the Prophet's Tomb; to which he consented. I have inserted this Story in the Place where I found it in my Author, because I would not willingly omit any thing that might any way contribute to the illu-

(a) Alcoran, Chap. II, 126.
(b) III, 96.
(c) III, 60.
(d) III, 78.
(e) III, 77.
(f) Arab. Aslama.
(g) XXII, 77.

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illuſtrating the Manners or Religion of that People concerning whom I write: Notwithſtanding which, I have a ſtrong Suſpicion that this is the very ſame *Caab* who was proſelyted in *Mahomet*'s Time, above ten Years before *Omar* took *Jeruſalem*, and concerning whom the Reader may ſee a larger Account in the * *Life of* Mahomet. For our Authors are not always ſo very accurate; eſpecially thoſe who write the Hiſtories of the Beginnings of the *Saracenical* Empire.

* P. 99.

Now *Omar* thought of returning to *Medinah*, having firſt diſpos'd his Affairs after the following manner. *Syria* he divided into two Parts; and committed all that lies between *Haurân* and *Aleppo* to *Abu Obeidah*, with Orders to make War upon it till he conquer'd it. *Iezid Ebn Abi Sofyan* took the Charge of all *Paleſtine* and the *Sea-ſhore*. *Amrou Ebno'l Aâs* was ſent to invade *Ægypt*, no inconſiderable Part of the Emperor's Dominions, which now moulder'd away continually. The *Saracens* at *Medinah* had almoſt given *Omar* over; and began to conclude that he would never ſtir from *Jeruſalem*, conſidering the Richneſs of the Country, and the Sweet-

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Sweetneſs of the Air; but eſpecially it being the Country of the Prophets, and the Holy Land, and the Place where we muſt all be ſummoned together at the Reſurrection. At laſt he came, ſo much the more welcome, by how much he was the leſs expected. *Abu Obeidah* in the mean time received *Kinniſrîn* and *Alhadir*; the Inhabitants paying down 5000 Ounces of Gold, and as many of Silver, 2000 Suits of Cloaths of ſeveral ſorts of Silk, and 500 Aſſes Loads of Figgs and Olives. *Yezid* march'd againſt *Cæſarea* in vain, that Place being too well fortify'd to be taken by his little Army, eſpecially ſince it had been reinforc'd by the Emperor, who had ſent Store of all ſorts of Proviſion by Sea, and a Recruit of 2000 Men. The Inhabitants of *Aleppo* were much concern'd at the Loſs of *Kinniſrîn* and *Alhadir*, knowing very well that it would not be long before it would come to their turn, to experience themſelves what they had known till then only by Report. They had two Governours, Brothers, who dwelt in the Caſtle, (the ſtrongeſt in all *Syria*) which was not then encompaſs'd by the Town, but ſtood out at a little Diſtance

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ſtance by it ſelf. The Name of one of theſe Brethren, if my Author miſtakes not, was *Toukinna*; the other *John*. Their Father held of the Emperor *Heraclius* all the Territory between *Aleppo* and *Euphrates*, after whoſe Deceaſe his Son *Toukinna* manag'd the Affairs; *John* not troubling himſelf with ſecular Employments, did not meddle with the Government, but led a Monkiſh Life; ſpending his Time in Retirement, Reading, and Deeds of Charity. He would have perſwaded his Brother to have ſecur'd himſelf, by compounding with the *Arabs* for a good round Sum of Money; who told him, that he talk'd like a Monk, and did not underſtand what belong'd to a Soldier. That he had Wealth and Warlike Preparation enough, and was reſolv'd to make the beſt Oppoſition he could. Accordingly the next Day he call'd his Men together, among which there were ſeveral Chriſtian *Arabs*, and having arm'd 'em, and for their Encouragement diſtributed ſome Money among 'em, told them, that he was fully purpoſed to act offenſively, and give the *Saracens* Battle, if poſſible, before they ſhould come too near *Aleppo*. That the *Saracen* Army

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Army was weaken'd by their Diviſion, ſome of them being gone to *Cæſarea*, others to *Damaſcus*, and ſome into *Ægypt*. Thus encouraging his Men, he march'd forwards with 12000. *Abu Obeidah* had ſent before him *Caab Ebn Damarah* with 1000 Men, but with expreſs Orders not to fight till he had receiv'd Information of the Strength of the Enemy. *Youkinna*'s Spies found *Caab* and his Men reſting themſelves, and watering their Horſes, ſecure, and free from Apprehenſions of Danger: Upon which he lays an Ambuſcade, and falls upon them with the reſt of his Men. There was a ſharp Engagement, in which the Saracens had the better of it at firſt; but the Ambuſcade breaking in upon them, they were in great Danger of being overpower'd with Multitude; 170 of them were kill'd upon the Spot, and moſt of the reſt grievouſly wounded, that they were upon the very Brink of Deſpair, and cry'd out, *Ya Mahommed! Ya Mahommed! O Mahomet! O Mahomet!* However, with much ado they made Shift to hold up till Night parted them, earneſtly expecting the Coming of *Abu Obeidah*.

In

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In the mean time, whilſt *Youkinna* was gone out with his Forces to engage the *Saracens*, the wealthy and trading People of *Aleppo*, knowing very well how hard it would go with them if they ſhould ſtand it out obſtinately to the laſt, and be taken by Storm, upon Debate, reſolv'd to go and article with *Abu Obeidah*, that, let *Youkinna*'s Succeſs be what it would, they might be ſecure. Thirty of the chief of them went to him, being then at *Kinniſrîn*, and juſt upon his March; and as ſoon as they came near, cry'd out, *Legôun*, *Legoun*. *Abu Obeidah* underſtood that it meant *Quarter*, and had formerly written to the Captains in *Syria*, that if any of them heard any Man uſe that Word, they ſhould not be haſty to kill him, otherwiſe they muſt anſwer it at the Day of Judgment, and the *Caliph* would be clear. They were brought before *Abu Obeidah*, and perceiving that there were Fires in the Camp, and ſome were ſaying their Prayers, others reading the *Alcoran*, and all very eaſy and ſecure, one of them ſaid, *They have moſt certainly gotten the Victory*. An Interpreter that ſtood by told *Abu Obeidah*, who till then knew nothing of the Battle.

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tle. Upon Examination they told him, that they were Merchants, and the chief Traders of *Aleppo*, and were come to make Articles for themſelves; that *Youkinna* was a Tyrant; that he march'd out againſt the Saracens Yeſterday. *Abu Obeidah* hearing this, gave *Caab Ebn Damarah* over for loſt, which made him at firſt the more unwilling to article with the *Aleppians*; but upon their earneſt and repeated Intreaty, and being always naturally enclin'd to Compaſſion, and withall conſidering that theſe Perſons (for there were ſeveral belonging to the neighbouring Villages that had join'd themſelves with them) might be ſerviceable in helping the Army to Proviſion and Provinder, he cry'd out, ‖ *God loves thoſe that are enclin'd to do good*; and turning himſelf to the Saracens, he repreſented the Advantages which might accrue to them, by receiving theſe People into their Protection: But one that was preſent told him, that the Town was very near the Caſtle, and he did not believe they were in earneſt, or ought to be truſted; for, ſays he, they come to impoſe upon us, and no queſtion but they have trapann'd *Caab*. To whom

‖ Alcoran, *Chap.* II. 190. III. 129, 141. V. 16.

Abu

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Abu Obeidah anſwer'd, *Entertain, Man, a better Opinion of God, who will not deceive us, nor give them the Dominion over us.* Then he propós'd to them the ſame Conditions which they of *Kinniſrîn* and *Hader* had agreed to; but they deſir'd to be excus'd, alledging, that through the Oppreſſion and Tyranny of *Youkinna*, their City of *Aleppo* was nothing near ſo well peopled, nor half ſo rich as *Kinniſrîn*; but if he pleas'd to accept of half ſo much, they would endeavour to raiſe it: Which was accepted, upon Condition, that they ſhould take Care to furniſh the Camp with all things neceſſary, and give all poſſible Intelligence that might be of any Uſe to the Muſlemans, and alſo hinder *Youkinna* from returning into the Caſtle. They undertook all but the laſt Article, which they ſaid was altogether out of their Power. Then he ſwore them every one, (ſuch an Oath as they had been us'd to) and bad them take Care how they broke it, for if they did, there would be no Quarter. When they were going away, he proffer'd them Guards to ſee them ſafe home; but they told him, they would, if he pleas'd, ſave him that Trouble, ſince they could go home the

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ſame way they came, without any fear of *Youkinna*.

As they were going back, they chanc'd to meet with one of *Youkinna*'s Officers, who enquiring, what News? They gave him an Account of the whole Tranſaction. Upon this he goes with all poſſible ſpeed to his Maſter; who was with Impatience expecting the Morning, that he might diſpatch *Caab* and his Men, whom the coming of the Night had preſerv'd: But hearing this News, he began to fear leſt there ſhould be any Attempt made upon the Caſtle, and thought it ſafeſt to make the beſt of his way homeward. In the Morning the Saracens were ſurpriz'd to ſee no Enemy, and wonder'd what was the matter with them. *Caab* would have purſu'd them, but none of his Men had any Inclination to go with him; ſo they reſted themſelves, and in a little time *Caled* and *Abu Obeidah* came up with the reſt of the Army. Then they went about burying their Martyrs, as they call them, and put them into the Ground all bloody as they were, with their Cloaths, Arms, and all together. *Abu Obeidah* ſaid, that he had heard the Apoſtle of God ſay, that

The

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The Martyrs and thoſe who are killed in the Service of God, ſhall be raiſed at the Day of Judgment with their Blood upon their Throats, which ſhall have the Colour of Blood, and the Smell of Musk, and they ſhall be led directly into Paradiſe, without being call'd to an Account.

Aſſoon as they were buried, *Abu Obeidah* reminded *Caled* of the Obligation they were under to protect the *Aleppians*, now their Confederates, who were likely to be expos'd to the utmoſt Outrage and Cruelty of *Youkinna*, who, in all probability, would ſeverely reſent their Deſertion. They march'd as faſt as they could, and when they drew near *Aleppo*, found that they were not at all deceiv'd in what they fear'd. *Youkinna* had drawn up his Soldiers with a Deſign to fall upon the Townſmen, and threatned them with preſent Death, unleſs they would break their Covenant with the *Arabs*, and go out with him to fight them, and bring out to him the Perſon that was the firſt Contriver and Propoſer of it. At laſt he fell upon them in good earneſt, and kill'd about 300 of them. His Brother *John*, who was in the Caſtle, hearing a piteous Outcry and Lamen-

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tation, came down from the Caſtle, and intreated his Brother to ſpare the People, repreſenting to him, that *Jeſus Chriſt* had commanded us not to contend with our Enemies, much leſs with thoſe of our own Religion. *Youkinna* told him, that they had agreed with the *Arabs*, and aſſiſted 'em. Which *John* excus'd, telling him, *That what they did was only for their own Security, becauſe they were no fighting Men.* In ſhort, he took their part ſo long, till he provok'd his Brother to that degree, that he charg'd him with being the chief Contriver and Manager of the whole Buſineſs; and at laſt, in a great Paſſion, cut his Head off: But our Author ſays, that he firſt made Profeſſion of the *Mahometan* Religion, and went forthwith to Paradiſe. But very likely the Reaſon of his ſaying ſo, is, becauſe he was a ſober Man, and of a good Character, and he grudg'd that any ſuch ſhould die a Chriſtian, and therefore made a *Mahometan* of him, envying the Chriſtians the Credit of having a good Man among 'em. Whilſt he was murdering the unhappy *Aleppians*, *Caled*, (better late than never) came to their Relief. Which *Youkinna*

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na perceiving, retir'd with a conſiderable Number of Soldiers into the Caſtle. The *Saracens* kill'd that Day 3000 of his Men: However he prepar'd for a Siege, and planted Engines upon the Caſtle-Walls. The *Aleppians* brought out 40 Priſoners, and deliver'd 'em to *Abu Obeidah*, who bad his Interpreter ask 'em, why they had made Priſoners of them? They anſwer'd, *Becauſe they belong'd to* Youkinna, *and having fled to them, they durſt not conceal them, not being included in the Articles.* *Abu Obeidah* commended their Fidelity, and told 'em, *They ſhould find the Benefit of it*; and for their further Encouragement, added, *That what Plunder ſoever they got from any of the Chriſtians ſhould be their own, as a Reward of their good Service.* Seven of theſe Priſoners turn'd *Mahometans*; the reſt were beheaded.

Abu Obeidah next, in a Council of War, deliberates what Meaſures were moſt proper to be taken. Some were of Opinion, that it would be the beſt way to beſiege the Caſtle with ſome part of the Army, and let the reſt be ſent out to forage. *Caled* would not hear of it, but was for having the Caſtle

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attack'd with their whole Force at once; that, if poſſible, it might be taken before freſh Supplies ſhould come from the *Grecian* Emperor. This concluded upon, they made a moſt vigorous Aſſault, and had as hard a Battle as any in all the Wars of *Syria*. The Beſieged made a noble Defence, and threw Stones from the Walls in ſuch Plenty, that a great many of the *Saracens* were kill'd, and a great many more maim'd. *Youkinna*, encouraged with his Succeſs, deſign'd to act offenſively, and take all Advantages. The *Saracens* look'd upon all the Country as their own, and knowing that there was no Army of the Enemy near 'em, nor fearing any thing from the Beſieged, kept Guard negligently. *Youkinna*, in the dead of the Night, ſent out a Party, who, as ſoon as the Fires were out in the Camp, fell upon the *Saracens*, and having killed about 60, carried off 50 Priſoners. *Caled* purſu'd and cut off about an hundred of them; the reſt eſcap'd to the Caſtle with the Priſoners, who, by the Command of *Youkinna*, were the next Day beheaded in the ſight of the *Saracen* Army. *Youkinna* upon this ventur'd once more to ſend out

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out another Party, having receiv'd Information from one of his Spies (moſt of which were Chriſtian *Arabs*) that ſome of the Muſlemans were gone out to forage. They fell upon the Muſlemans, kill'd 130 of 'em, and ſeiz'd all their Camels, Mules and Horſes, which having kill'd or hamſtring'd, they retir'd into the Mountains, in hopes of lying hid that Day, and returning to the Caſtle in the Silence of the Night. In the mean time, ſome that had eſcap'd brought the News to *Abu Obeidah*, who ſends *Caled* and *Derar* to purſue 'em. Coming to the Place where the Fight had been, they found their Men and Camels dead, and the Country People making great Lamentation, for they were afraid leſt the *Saracens* ſhould ſuſpect 'em of Treachery, and revenge the Loſs of their Men upon 'em. Whereupon they fell down before *Caled*, and told him they were altogether innocent, and had not any way, either directly or indirectly, been inſtrumental in it; but that it was done by a Party of Horſe that ſallied from the Caſtle. *Caled* having ſworn 'em, that they did not know any thing more, and taking ſome of 'em for

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Guides, beſet the only Paſſage by which the Beſieged could return to the Caſtle. When about a fourth Part of the Night paſt, they perceiv'd 'em coming, and falling upon 'em, took 300 Priſoners, and kill'd the reſt. The Priſoners would have redeemed themſelves, but they were all beheaded the next Morning before the Caſtle.

The *Saracens* laid a cloſe Siege, but perceiving that they got no Advantage, *Abu Obeidah* remov'd the Camp about a Miles Diſtance from the Caſtle; hoping by this means to tempt the Beſieg'd to Security and Negligence in their Watch, which might at ſome time afford him an Opportunity of taking the Caſtle by Surprize. But all would not do; for *Youkinna* kept a very ſtrict Watch, and ſuffer'd never a Man to ſtir out. *Abu Obeidah* thought that there might be ſome Chriſtian Spies in the Army; whereupon he and *Caled* walk'd about the Camp, to ſee if they could pick up any ſuſpicious Perſons. *Caled* at laſt obſerved a Man ſitting with a Veſt before him, which he turn'd firſt on the one ſide, and then on the other. *Caled* ſtept to him, and ask'd him, what Tribe he was off? The Fellow deſign'd

to

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to have nam'd another Tribe, if he had not been ſurpris'd; but having the Queſtion put to him on a ſudden, the Word ſlipt out of his Mouth, and he anſwer'd, of *Gaſſâu*. *Sayſt thou ſo*, (anſwer'd *Caled*) *thou Enemy of God, thou art a Chriſtian Arab, and a Spy*, and ſeiz'd him. The Fellow ſaid, that he was not, but a Muſleman. *Caled* carried him to *Abu Obeidah*, who bad him examine him in the *Alcoran*, and make him ſay his Prayers. But the poor Fellow had not one Word to ſay for himſelf, being altogether ignorant of thoſe Things: Upon which, without much arguing, he confeſs'd himſelf a Spy, and that he was not alone, but there were three of 'em in all, two of which were return'd to the Caſtle. *Abu Obeidah* bad him take his Choice, either of *Mahometaniſm* or Death, and he readily embrac'd the former.

The Siege continu'd four Months, and ſome ſay, five. In the mean time *Omar* was very much concern'd, having heard nothing from the Camp in *Syria*. He writes to *Abu Obeidah*, to let him know how tender he was over the *Muſlemans*, and what a great Grief it was to him to hear no News of 'em

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in ſo long a time. *Abu Obeidah* anſwer'd, that *Kinniſrîn*, *Hader* and *Aleppo* were ſurrender'd to him, only the Caſtle of *Aleppo* held out, and that they had loſt a conſiderable Number of Men before it. That he had ſome Thoughts of raiſing the Siege, and paſſing forwards into that Part of the Country which lies between *Aleppo* and *Antioch*; but only he ſtaid for his Anſwer. About the time that *Abu Obeidah*'s Meſſengers got to *Medinah*, there came out of the ſeveral Tribes of the *Arabs* a conſiderable Number of Men, who profer'd their Service to the *Caliph*. *Omar* order'd 70 Camels to help their Foot, and diſpatch'd 'em into *Syria*, with a Letter to *Abu Obeidah*; in which he acquainted him, *That he was variouſly affected, according to the different Succeſs they had had; but charg'd them by no means to raiſe the Siege of the Caſtle, for that would make them look little, and encourage their Enemies to fall upon them on all ſides. Wherefore*, adds he, *continue beſieging it, till God ſhall determine the Event, and forage with your Horſe round about the Country.*

Among thoſe freſh Supplies which *Omar* ſent laſt to the *Saracen* Camp, there

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there was a very remarkable Man, whoſe Name was *Dames*, of a Gigantick Size, and an admirable Soldier. When he had been in the Camp fourty ſeven Days, and all the Force and Cunning of the *Saracens* could do nothing to the Caſtle, he deſir'd *Abu Obeidah* to let him have the Command of thirty Men, and he would try his beſt. *Caled* had heard much of the Man, and told *Abu Obeidah* a long Story of a wonderful Performance of this *Dames* in *Arabia*; that he was look'd upon as a very proper Perſon for ſuch an Undertaking. *Abu Obeidah* bad thoſe who were to go with him not deſpiſe their Commander, becauſe of the Meanneſs of his Condition, he being a Slave; and ſwore, that if the Care of the whole Army did not ly upon him, he would be the firſt Man that ſhould go under him upon ſuch an Enterprize. To which they anſwer'd with entire Submiſſion and profound Reſpect. *Dames* deſir'd *Abu Obeidah* to raiſe the Siege, and remove about a Leagues Diſtance from the Caſtle. When Night came, *Dames*, who lay hid at no great Diſtance, went out ſeveral times, and brought in with him five or ſix *Greeks*, but never a Man of

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'em underſtood one Word of Arabick, which made him angry, and ſay, *God curſe theſe Dogs! What a ſtrange barbarous Language they uſe.*

At laſt he went again, and there fell a Man down from the Wall; him he took, and by the Help of a Chriſtian *Arab*, which he took afterwards, examin'd him; who gave him an Account, that immediately upon the Departure of the *Saracens*, *Toukinna* began to abuſe the Townſmen that had agreed with the *Arabs*, and exact large Sums of Money of them; that he was one of 'em, and had endeavour'd to make his Eſcape from the Oppreſſion and Tyranny of *Toukinna*, by leaping down from the Wall. They let him go, as being under their Protection by virtue of the Articles made between *Abu Obeidah* and the *Aleppians*; but beheaded all the reſt.

Dames then takes out of a Knapſack a Goats Skin; with this he covers his Back and Shoulders, and takes a dry Cruſt in his Hand, creeping upon all Four as near to the Caſtle as he could; and if he heard any Noiſe, or ſuſpected any Perſon's being near, to prevent being diſcover'd, he made ſuch a Noiſe with

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with his Cruſt, as a Dog makes that's gnawing a Bone. The reſt of his Company came after, ſometimes ſculking and creeping along, at other times walking. He had ſent two of his Men to *Abu Obeidah*, to ſend him ſome Horſe about Sun-riſe. When they came to the Caſtle, they found it in a manner inacceſſible. However *Dames* was reſolv'd to leave nothing unattempted. Having found a Place where he thought it might be eaſieſt getting up, he ſits down upon the Ground, and orders another to ſit upon his Shoulders; and ſo till ſeven of 'em were gotten up, and ſat one upon the others Shoulders, all of 'em leaning againſt the Wall with all their Strength. Then he that was uppermoſt of all ſtood upright upon the Shoulders of the ſecond. The ſecond aroſe next, and ſo on all in order, till at laſt *Dames* himſelf ſtood up, who bore the Weight of all the reſt upon his Shoulders, unleſs they could relieve him, by bearing any part of their Weight againſt the Wall. By this time he that was uppermoſt could make a ſhift to reach the Top of the Wall. They all ſaid, *O Apoſtle of God help us and deliver us!* When he was got

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got up, he found a Watchman drunk and aſleep. He ſeiz'd him Hand and Foot, and threw him down among the *Saracens*, who immediately cut him to Pieces. Two other Watchmen, whom he found in the ſame Condition, he ſtabb'd with his Dagger, and threw down from the Wall. Then he let down his Turbant, and drew up the ſecond; they two the third, till at laſt they drew up *Dames* too, who enjoin'd them Silence, till he ſhould bring them further Information. He went and peep'd in, where he found *Youkinna*, richly dreſs'd, ſitting upon a Tapeſtry of Scarlet Silk flower'd with Gold, and a large Company with him eating and drinking, and very merry. He came and told his Men, that he did not think it adviſeable to fall upon 'em then, becauſe of the great Inequality of their Numbers, but had rather take the Advantage of 'em about Break of Day; at which time there was no fear but there would come ſome Help from the Army. In the mean time he went alone, and privately ſtabbing the Porters, and ſetting open the Gates, came back to his Men, and bad them haſten to take Poſſeſſion of the

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the Gates. This was not done ſo ſecretly, but they were at laſt taken notice of, and the Caſtle alarm'd. There was no Hopes of eſcaping, but every one of 'em expected to periſh. It was now towards Morning; *Dames* behav'd himſelf bravely, but overpower'd with Multitude, they were not able to hold up, when *Caled* came to their Relief. As ſoon as the Beſieg'd perceiv'd the *Saracens* ruſhing in upon 'em, they threw down their Arms, and cry'd *Quarter!* *Abu Obeidah* was not far behind with the reſt of the Army. Having taken the Caſtle, and propos'd *Mahometaniſm* to the Chriſtians, the firſt that embrac'd it was *Youkinna*, and ſome of the chief Men with him, who immediately had their Wives and Children, and all their Wealth reſtor'd to them. *Abu Obeidah* ſet the old and impotent People at Liberty, and having taken out a Fifth part of the Spoil of the Caſtle, (which was of great Value) divided the reſt among the Muſlemans. *Dames* was talk'd of, and admir'd by all, and *Abu Obeidah* paid him the Reſpect of making the Army continue in that Place, till he and his Men were perfectly cured of their Wounds. Ha-

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Having taken the Caſtle of *Aleppo*, he had Thoughts of marching next to *Antioch*, then the Seat of the *Grecian* Emperor. But *Youkínna*, the late Governour of the Caſtle of *Aleppo*, with the changing of his Religion, being become an utter Enemy to the Chriſtian Intereſt, perſwaded him to defer his March to *Antioch*, till they had firſt taken the Caſtle of *Aazâz*, held by *Theodorus* his Couſin-German; a Place of Importance, and which, if not taken, would prove a great Nuiſance to the *Saracens* on that ſide the Country; and profer'd his Service. The way that he propos'd, was to take with him an hundred *Saracens*, dreſs'd in the *Grecian* Habit, and with him to ride to *Aazâz*. Theſe hundred were to be purſu'd at a little Interval by a thouſand other *Saracens* in their proper Habit. He ſaid, *That he did not at all queſtion a kind Reception at the Hands of his Kinſman* Theodorus. Whom he was to tell, *That he had only feign'd himſelf a* Mahometan, *till he could find an Opportunity of eſcaping; that he was purſu'd by the* Saracens, *&c.* If they were receiv'd, of which there was no doubt, they would in the Night fall upon the Inha-

Inhabitants; and thoſe other, who pretended to purſue them, and ſhould be order'd to ſtay at a Village call'd *Morah*, not far diſtant from *Aazâz*, ſhould come to their Aſſiſtance. *Abu Obeidah* ask'd *Caled* what he thought of it, who approv'd of the Stratagem, provided they could be well aſſur'd of *Youkinna*'s Sincerity in the Execution of it. *Youkinna* us'd a great many very earneſt Expreſſions to ſatisfy them of his Integrity; and after *Abu Obeidah* had, in a long Diſcourſe, ſet before him the Danger of being treacherous on the one hand; and on the other, the Benefits that would accrue to him by faithfully ſerving the *Saracens*; they reſolv'd to venture him, and choſe ten a Piece out of ten ſeveral Tribes of the *Arabs*; each ten being commanded by a *Decurion*, and all of them committed to *Youkinna*. When they were gone about a League, *Abu Obeidah* ſent after them 1000 Men, under *Malec Aláſhtari*, with Order to lie ſtill by way of Ambuſh, when they came near to *Aazâz*, till Night. They found the Village void of Inhabitants, which the Terror of the *Saracens* had fear'd further up into the Country. Whilſt *Malec* was at that Village, he

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intercepted a Chriſtian *Arab*, who upon Examination told him, *That he and his Men muſt look to themſelves, for all their Deſign was diſcovered: That there was a Spy in the Camp, who had heard all* Youkinna's *Contrivance, and given the Governour of* Aazâz *ſecret Intelligence of it, by a Letter tied under the Wing of a tame Pigeon* (a Practice not uncommon in theſe Parts.) *Upon which he* (meaning himſelf) *had been ſent to* Lucas, *Governour of* Arrawendân, *to deſire his Aſſiſtance. That he was coming, and could not be far off with* 500 *Horſe.* *Youkinna* in the mean time coming to *Aazâz*, found the Town and Caſtle in a Poſture of Defence, and his Couſin *Theodorus*, the Governour, at the Head of 3000 *Greeks*, and 10000 Chriſtian *Arabs*, beſides others that came out of the Villages. *Theodorus* made up to *Youkinna*, and alighting from his Horſe, made profound Reverence, as if he would have kiſs'd *Youkinna*'s Stirrup. In the mean time, he ſlily cut his Girth, and with one Puſh threw him flat on his Face upon the Ground. Then he and all his Men were immediately taken Priſoners. *Theodorus* ſpit in his Face, and reproach'd him with

with his apoſtatizing from the Chriſtian Religion; threatning Death to all his *Arabs*, and to ſend him to anſwer for himſelf before his Maſter the *Grecian* Emperor. All this while *Theodorus* knew nothing of *Malec*'s being ſo near; his Spy having only inform'd him of *Youkinna*'s intended Treachery, and not one Word of *Malec*'s feign'd Purſuit. The Prefect of *Arrawendân* came in the Night, according as he had promis'd *Theodorus*, with his five hundred Men, and were all intercepted by *Malec*, who had two to their one. Having made Priſoners of 'em, they diſguis'd themſelves in their Cloaths, and took the Chriſtian Colours in their Hands. Then *Malec* ask'd the Spy to turn *Mahometan*; which he did. He had been one before, at the ſame time when *Jabalah Ebno'l Ayham* made Profeſſion of that Superſtition; but *Jabalah* thinking himſelf affronted by *Omar*, and revolting, thoſe Chriſtian *Arabs* that depended upon him, went off along with him; among which Number, this Spy taken by *Malec* at *Morah*, was one. He told *Malec*, that he had heard that *Mahomet* had ſaid, *That whoſoever chang'd his Religion ſhould be killed.*

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Malec ſaid it was true, but God had ſaid, *Illa man tâba waamâna*; *Except he that repents and believes*; adding, That the Prophet himſelf had accepted of *Wahſhy*'s Repentance, notwithſtanding he had kill'd his Uncle *Hamzah*. *Thârik Algaſſâni* (that was the Spy's Name) hearing this, repeated the *La Ilaha*, &c. and *Malec* ſaid, *May God accept thy Repentance, and ſtrengthen thy Faith.* This done, he bad him go and tell the Governour of *Aazâz*, that the Governour of *Arrawendân* was coming to his Aſſiſtance; which he undertook, and, attended only by one Companion, went till he came near the Walls, where they heard a very great Noiſe of Shouting and Trumpets, which was occaſion'd after this manner.

Theodorus, Governour of *Aazâz*, had a Son, whoſe Name was *Leon*; whom he uſed to ſend, now and then, for a Month or two, to be with his Uncle *Youkinna* at *Aleppo*-Caſtle. There he fell in Love with his Uncle's Daughter, a very beautiful Lady. Returning back, he acquaints his Mother with his Paſſion; who, very tenderly, was willing to contribute any thing that might be a means of procuring the proper Remedy.

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medy. His Father *Theodorus* had put theſe Priſoners, *Youkinna* and his hundred diſguiſed Saracens into *Leon*'s Appartment. He, glad of this Opportunity of ingratiating himſelf with his Uncle, came and told him, that he had a Mind to releaſe him and his Friends. *Youkinna* told him, that if he had any Inclination to turn *Mahometan*, he ought not to do it upon any Proſpect of worldly Advantage. To which the young Villain, fir'd with Luſt, and reſolv'd upon the Match, anſwer'd, *That his Family and Relations were dear to him; but the Faith was dearer.* In ſhort, he ſet 'em all at Liberty, gave 'em their Arms, and bad 'em go in the Name of God, whilſt he went and killed his Father, whom he was ſure to find drunk and aſleep. Immediately the *Saracens*, now enlarg'd, fall upon the *Greeks*, who made a ſtout Reſiſtance. During which time the Spies went back to *Malec*, to acquaint him how things ſtood, who rode on a-pace, and came time enough to relieve their Friends, and take the Caſtle. They gave great Thanks to *Youkinna*, who bad them *thank God, and this young Man*; meaning his Kinſman *Leon*, and told them

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all the Story: To which *Malec* anſwer'd, *When God will have a Thing done, he prepares the Cauſes of it.* Then he ask'd, who kill'd *Theodorus?* *Leon* anſwer'd, *My elder Brother* Luke. *Malec* wonder'd, and ask'd him, how that came about, ſince ſuch a Thing was ſcarce ever heard of among the *Greeks*, that a Child ſhould murder his own Father. *Luke*, it ſeems, told them, *That it was out of Love to them, their Prophet and Religion. That they had a Prieſt who uſed to bring them up, who had told him long ſince of* Mahomet; *and that the* Saracens *ſhould moſt certainly conquer the Country; and that they had ſeveral Prophecies relating to it*; and much to that purpoſe: *Wherefore he was glad of this Opportunity of becoming one of them; and had deſigned to have ſet his Uncle* Youkinna *and the Priſoners at Liberty, if his Brother* Leon *had not prevented him.* Hopeful Youths! who had prevented each other in a maſterly Piece of Villany; the one in murdering his Father; the other, in ſetting at Liberty his moſt mortal Enemies, and betraying all his Friends! *Malec* gave him his Bleſſing, and having ſet *Said Ebn Amer* over the Caſtle, with that 100 Men

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Men that came along with *Youkinna*, march'd with the Spoils to *Aleppo*. There were in the Caſtle of *Aazâz*, when the Muſlemans took it, 1000 young Men, *Greeks*, 245 old Men and Monks, 1000 young Women and Girls, and 180 old Women.

Juſt as *Malec* was upon his March, the *Saracens* upon the Caſtle-Wall gave ſuch a ſhout, as alarm'd all the reſt, and gave them notice, that they ſaw a great Duſt not far off. When they came near, it appeared that they were only 1000 *Saracens*, which *Abu Obeidah* had ſent under the Command of *Alphadl Bno'l Abbâs*, to plunder round about *Menbigz* (formerly *Hierapolis*) and the adjacent Villages, which they had done, and brought off the Spoil. *Malec* and *Alphadl* marched together; but *Youkinna* having had ſuch bad Succeſs, could not be perſwaded to go along with them, being reſolved not to appear at the Camp, nor ſhow himſelf to the Army, till he had by ſome ſignal Service made amends for his Miſcarriage, and retriev'd his Credit; but choſe rather to go to *Antioch*. And tho *Alphadl* endeavour'd to convince him that he was in no Fault, neither ought

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to be concerned for it, and proved it by a Text of the *Alcoran*; yet he could not be ſatisfy'd nor reconcil'd to himſelf. Among *Alphadl*'s Men there were 200 *Renegado's*, who had, as well as their Maſter *Toukinna*, renounc'd their Chriſtianity, and enter'd into the Service of the *Saracens*, and had their Families and Effects in the Caſtle of *Aleppo*: Theſe ſeem'd to him to be the moſt proper Inſtruments to work withall. With theſe he marches towards *Antioch*. After the firſt Watch of the Night was paſt, he took four of his Relations, and commanded the reſt to keep the direct high Road to *Antioch*, us'd by the *Caravans*, and to pretend that they fled from before the *Saracens*; telling them, *That they ſhould ſee him at* Antioch, *if it pleaſed God*. He with his Friends going another way, was examin'd by ſome of the Emperor's Men, who no ſooner underſtood that he was the late Governour of *Aleppo*, but they ſent him with a Guard of Horſe to *Antioch*. *Heraclius* wept at the ſight of him, and told him, *That he was inform'd he had chang'd his Religion*. To which he anſwer'd, *That what he had done was only in order to reſerve him-*

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himſelf for his Majeſty's further Service: That he had taken this Opportunity of flying to him from Aazâz: *That the vigorous Defence he had made at* Aleppo, *was a ſufficient Teſtimony of his Zeal for his Religion and his Fidelity to his Majeſty.* The Emperor received the Apoſtate with great Tenderneſs and Reſpect, and the greateſt part of the Court were enclin'd to entertain a charitable Opinion of him. Nay, ſo favourably did the Emperor judge of him, that he not only made him Commander over thoſe two hundred which belong'd to him, when they came to *Antioch*; but when his youngeſt Daughter, who was then in another Place, had ſent to her Father, the Emperor, for a Guard to conduct her ſafe to *Antioch*, *Youkinna* was entruſted with this Charge, and had under him for this purpoſe 2200 Men. Whilſt they were upon this Expedition, as he was in his Return, about Midnight, the *Greek* Horſes prick'd up their Ears, and began to neigh, and ſome of his advanc'd Guards brought him Intelligence of a Party of Saracens in a very negligent Poſture, moſt of 'em being aſleep, and their Horſes feeding. *Youkinna* ſeemingly

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ingly encourag'd his Men; but, that he might do the Saracens what ſecret Service he could, commanded 'em not to kill but take 'em Priſoners, that they might afterwards ſerve to exchange for the Chriſtians. When they came a little nearer, they found themſelves miſtaken; for thoſe which they took to be *Mahometans*, prov'd to be 1000 Chriſtian *Arabs*, under the Command of *Haïm*, Son of *Jabalah Ebno'l Ayham*, who had ſurpriz'd *Derar*, and taken him Priſoner, and with him 200 Saracens, ſent out by *Abu Obeidah*, to forage in the Northern Parts of *Syria*. Upon which *Youkinna* alights from his Horſe, and pays his Reſpects to *Haïm*, hypocritically congratulating his good Succeſs. *Abu Obeidah* now reſolv'd, purſuant to the *Caliph*'s Command, to march without delay to *Antioch*. The Emperor in the mean time was acquainted with the Approach of his Daughter, and *Haïms* good Succeſs, which caus'd great Rejoycing in *Antioch*. The Priſoners were brought into the Emperor's Preſence, and being commanded to fall down in a Poſture of Adoration, they took no notice of thoſe that ſpoke to 'em, nor look'd that way,

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way, nor made any Anſwer. At laſt being urg'd to it, *Derar* anſwer'd, *That they did not think Adoration was due to any Creature; beſides our Prophet has forbidden us to pay it.* The Emperor ask'd ſeveral Queſtions concerning their Prophet, and they beckon'd to *Kais Ebn Amer*, an old Man, and thoroughly acquainted with thoſe Matters, to anſwer him. Among other Queſtions, the Emperor ask'd him, after what manner Inſpiration us'd to come upon their Prophet, at his firſt ſetting forth? *Kais* told him, that *Mahomet* himſelf having been formerly ask'd that Queſtion by an Inhabitant of *Meccah*, anſwer d, *That ſometimes it us'd to be like the Sound of a Bell, but ſtronger and ſharper; ſometimes an Angel appear'd to me in humane Shape, and diſcours'd with me, and I committed to Memory what he ſaid.* Ayeſha *ſaid, that once the Spirit of Prophecy deſcended upon him on a very cold Day, and when it was gone off from him, his Foreheaa ran down with Sweat. The firſt Meſſage he receiv'd was in a Dream; and whenever he ſaw a Viſion, it appear'd to him like the breaking forth of the Morning-Brightneſs. Then he ſhut himſelf up in a cloſe Place alone, where he con-*

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continu'd till the TRUTH *came to him. An Angel came to him, being thus ſhut up, and ſaid,* Read. *To which he anſwer'd,* I cannot read. *Then the Angel repeated it, and having inſtructed him in Things to come, ſent him forth, and ſaid to him,* *Read in the Name of thy Lord who created, &c. *With which the Apoſtle of God* (Mahomet) *return'd to his Place,* with his Fleſh trembling. *Then he went into the Houſe to* Chadijah, *and ſaid,* Zammiloúni, Zammiloúni, Wrap me up, wrap me up. *Upon which they wrapped him up in Blankets, till he came to himſelf, and his Fear was gone off: After which he gave an Account of the whole Matter to* Chadijah, *after this manner.*

* Alcoran, *Chap.* XCVI. v. 1. *according to the Order of the Copies now in uſe; tho the Mahometans take it for the firſt Chapter of the whole* Alcoran.

As I was walking (ſaid he) *I heard a Voice from Heaven; and lifting up my Eyes, I ſaw the ſame Angel which came to me before, ſitting upon a Throne between Heaven and Earth. Being afraid of him, I went home, and ſaid,* Zammiloúni, Datthiroúni, wrap me up in Blankets and Matts. *And at that time God ſent down to me that Chapter whith begins with theſe Words,* *O thou that art wrapped in Blankets: *And part of that which begins with theſe Words,* † O thou that art wrap-

* *It is the* LXXIII. *of the* Alcoran.

† Alcoran, *Chap.* LXXIV.

wrapped in Matts, *to theſe Words*, And flee from the Puniſhment; which is the fifth Verſe of that Chapter. Omar. Alwákidi.

The *Byzantine* Hiſtorians, and thoſe other Writers who have followed them blindfold in their Account of *Mahomet*, will needs have it, that *Mahomet* was troubled with the Falling-Sickneſs: And ‖ *Hottinger* takes his being wrapp'd up in Matts and Blankets for an undeniable Proof of it. As for the *Byzantines*, their Authority in this Matter is of no great weight at all, eſpecially conſidering they always make it their Buſineſs to repreſent *Mahomet* as full of all manner of Imperfections, both of Body and Mind as poſſible; as if the Chriſtian Religion was beſt ſerv'd by perverting of Hiſtory. As to his being wrapped up in Blankets, there might be many Occaſions of that beſides the Falling-Sickneſs; and his being troubled with that Diſeaſe having no Foundation in any *Arabick* Hiſtorian, it ought, till it be better made appear, to be rejected among the reſt of thoſe idle Stories which have been told of *Mahomet* by the Chriſtians.

‖ Hiſtoria Orientalis, *Lib.* 1. *Cap.* 2. *p.* 10, 11.

To return to our Hiſtory. The Emperor afterwards ask'd him, what Alwákidi.

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he had ſeen of *Mahomet*'s Miracles. *Kais* told him, that being once upon a Journey with him, there came an *Arabian* up to them, whom *Mahomet* ask'd, if he would teſtify, that there was but *one God, and that he was his Prophet.* The *Arabian* ask'd him, what Witneſs he had that what he ſaid was true? To which *Mahomet* anſwer'd, *This Tree*: And calling the Tree to him, it came upright, plowing the Ground up with its Roots. *Mahomet* bad it bear Witneſs: Which it did; ſaying three times, *Thou art the Apoſtle of God.* After which it return'd, and ſtood in its Place as before. *Heraclius* ſaid, He had heard, that it was a part of their Religion to believe, that if any of them did any Good, it ſhould be return'd to them ten-fold: If evil, only once. *Kais* told him, that it was true, and quoted this Text out of the Alcoran; * *He that does Good ſhall receive ten times ſo much; but he that does Evil, ſhall receive only ſo much.* The Emperor ask'd him, if their Prophet was not called the *Witneſs.* To which *Kais* anſwer'd, That he was the *Witneſs* in this World, and the Witneſs againſt Men in the World to come, becauſe

* *Chap.* VI. 161. XL. 43.

cauſe God ſays, **O Prophet! we have ſent thee a Witneſs, and a Preacher of good News, and a Warner.* The Emperor ask'd him concerning *Mahomet*'s Nights Journey to Heaven, and his diſcourſing there with the moſt High: Which *Kais* affirmed to be true, and prov'd it from the firſt Verſe of the ſeventeenth Chapter of the *Alcoran*. Then the Emperor ask'd him concerning their faſting in the Month *Ramadan*; in which, *Mahomet* affirm'd, that the *Alcoran* came down from Heaven; which *Kais* acknowledg'd. A Biſhop who was preſent at this Conference, ſpeaking ſomething to the Diſparagement of *Mahomet*, provok'd *Derar Ebnol Azwâr* (one of the Priſoners) to ſuch a degree, that he gave him the Lye, and reviled him in moſt reproachful Language, affirming that *Mahomet* was a Prophet, but the Veil of Infidelity hinder'd them from the Knowledge of him. Upon which ſome of the Chriſtians drew their Swords, to chaſtize his Inſolence: But it ſeems he had a moſt wonderful Deliverance; for tho they ſtruck at him fourteen times, he eſcaped ſafe. However, if *Toukinna* had not interceded for a Reprieve till the

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* Alcoran, *Chap.* XLVIII. 8. & XXXIII. 44.

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the next Day, he would certainly have been executed by the Emperor's Command.

In the mean time *Abu Obeidah* proceeded in his March, receiving by Surrender thoſe Places which remain'd, till he came to that Bridge which they call'd the *Iron Bridge*, very near *Antioch*. The Emperor commits the Care of the Army, and the City to *Youkinna*, and deliver'd to him a Crucifix out of the Church, which was never ſhown publickly, but upon extraordinary Occaſions. Then he call'd for the Priſoners. But *Youkinna* told him, that it would be the beſt way to ſpare them, becauſe if any of the Chriſtians ſhould be taken, they might be exchang'd: Upon which Suggeſtion their Execution was deferr'd, and by the Advice of the Biſhops, they were carried into the Great Church, to ſee if any of them would embrace the Chriſtian Religion, and be baptized. *Amer*, the Son of *Rephâa* turn'd; but our Author will needs have it, that it was the Dreſs and Beauty of the *Grecian* Ladies influenc'd the young Man more than any Conviction of Conſcience. When his Father *Rephâa* heard of it, he broke out into

into this paſſionate Exclamation: *What! turn Infidel after having embrac'd the Faith! Alas for thee! Thou art driven from the Gate of the moſt Merciful. Alas for thee, thou haſt denied the King, the Judge. Alas for thee, thou Reprobate! How haſt thou denied the Lord of Might and perfect Power! I ſwear by God, that I weep not for thee, becauſe I muſt part with thee in this World, but becauſe I muſt part with thee in the next; when thou muſt go one way, and I another. When thou ſhalt go to the Habitation of Devils, and be plac'd with theſe Prieſts and Deacons in the * loweſt Manſion of Hell, I ſhall go with the Followers of* Mahomet, *(upon whom be the Bleſſing of God) to meet thoſe Spirits which converſe with him. O Son! Chuſe not the Delights of this preſent World before that to come. Oh! How ſhall I be aſtoniſh'd and confounded for this that thou haſt done, when thou comeſt to ſtand in the Preſence of the Lord of all Power and Might, the King of this World, and that to come! And how ſhall I be aſhamed before* Mahomet, *the elect Prophet of God! O Son! From whom wilt thou ſeek Interceſſion † another Day!* Omar. Alwákidi.

* Arab. Sadiſati. *i. e. The Sixth.*

† Arab. Gadàn. *i. e.* To Morrow. *It is uſed to expreſs future Time; and ſignifies in this Place the Day of Judgment.*

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The young Man was baptiz'd, and received with great Courteſy both by the Emperor and the Biſhops. The Emperor gave him a Horſe, and a young Woman, and liſted him into *Jabalah Ebno'l Ayham*'s Army, conſiſting of Chriſtian *Arabs*. The Patriarch ask'd the reſt, what hindred them from turning Chriſtians too. To which they anſwer'd, *The Truth of our Religion*. The Patriarch repreſented to them the Danger they incurr'd, by diſpleaſing *Jeſus Chriſt*. To which *Rephâa* reply'd, *That it would one Day be determined, which Party was rejected, and which in the Favour of God*. *Heraclius* told them, that he had been inform'd that their *Caliph* us'd to wear very mean Apparel; adding, That he had gotten enough from the Chriſtians to afford himſelf a better Dreſs, and ask'd, what ſhould hinder him from going like other Princes. *Rephâa* told him, *That the Conſideration of the other World, and the Fear of God, hinder'd him*. To the other Queſtions propos'd by the Emperor, they anſwer'd in a Cant ſo very much like what our Ears have for ſome late Years been us'd to, that were it not for the Difference of the Language,

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guage, we might juſtly have ſuſpected them to have been nearer Neighbours. The Emperor ask'd them, *What ſort of a Palace their Caliph had?* They ſaid, it was made of Mud. *And who* (ſaid the Emperor) *are his Attendants?* The Beggars and poor People. *What Tapeſtry does he ſit upon?* Juſtice and Uprightneſs. *And what is his Throne?* Abſtinence and certain Knowledge. *And what is his Treaſure?* Truſt in God. *And who are his Guard?* The ſtouteſt of the *UNITARIANS*. They added, *Do'ſt thou not know, O King! that ſeveral have ſaid unto him, O* Omar! *Lo, thou poſſeſſeſt the Treaſures of the* Cæſars; *and Kings and great Men are ſubdued unto thee: Now therefore why putteſt thou not on rich Garments? He ſaid unto them, Ye ſeek the outward World, but I ſeek the Favour of him that is Lord both of this World, and that to come.*

The Emperor having diſcours'd with them as long as he thought fit, remanded them to Priſon, and went to take a view of his Army, which he found drawn up without the City in very good Order. At the Head of every Regiment there was a little Church made of Wood, for the Soldiers to go

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to Prayers in. On a ſudden, he was inform'd that the *Arabs* were Maſters of the *Iron Bridge.* He was very much ſurpriz'd to hear that they had taken two Towers, in which there were no fewer than three hundred Officers, in ſo ſhort a time; but it ſeems they were betray'd: Which was occaſion'd thus; A great Officer at Court us'd to go every Day to ſee that theſe Towers were well guarded, and not neglected. One Day he found thoſe whoſe Buſineſs it was to take care of theſe Towers, drinking and revelling, and no Body upon Duty. Provok'd with this intolerable Negligence, he order'd them fifty Laſhes a-piece. This ſevere Diſcipline made them ſtudy Revenge; and accordingly, when *Abu Obeidah* and his Army drew near, they made Articles for themſelves, and deliver'd the Towers into the Hands of the Saracens.

The Emperor having now no Hopes left, aſſembled the Biſhops and great Men together in the Great Church, and there bewail'd the unhappy Fate of *Syria.* *Jabalah* told him, that if the *Caliph* was kill'd, the Affairs of the Saracens would be embroil'd, and it would

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would be of great moment towards the Recovery of what he had loſt. Having obtain'd Leave, he ſent one of his Chriſtian *Arabs*, whoſe Name was *Wathek Ebn Moſápher*, a reſolute young Man, with Orders to take a convenient Opportunity of killing the *Caliph*. *Omar*, after Prayers, went out of the City, to take a Walk, according to his Cuſtom. *Wathek* went before him, and got upon a Tree, where he ſat privately, till at laſt he obſerv'd *Omar* lie down to ſleep very near him. Having this fair Opportunity, he drew his Dagger, and was juſt coming down, when caſting his Eyes about, he ſaw a Lion walking round about *Omar*, and licking his Feet; who guarded him till he awoke, and then went away. Surpriz'd at this, and ſtruck with a profound Reverence for the *Caliph*, whom he now look'd upon as the peculiar Care of Heaven, he came down and kiſs'd his Hand, and having told him his Errand, made Profeſſion of the *Mahometan* Religion immediately, being ſtrangely affected with this wonderful Deliverance.

In the mean time the Armies before *Antioch* drew near to Battle, and the

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Chriſtian General's Name was *Neſtorius*. He went out firſt, and challeng'd any *Saracen* to ſingle Combat. *Dames* anſwer'd him; but in the Engagement, his Horſe ſtumbling, he was ſeiz'd before he could recover himſelf, and being taken Priſoner, was convey'd to *Neſtorius* his Tent, and there bound. *Neſtorius* returning to the Army, and offering himſelf a ſecond time, was anſwer'd by one *Dehâc*. The Combatants behav'd themſelves bravely, and the Victory was doubtful, which made all the Soldiers deſirous of being Spectators. The juſtling and thronging both of Horſe and Foot to ſee this Engagement, threw down *Neſtorius* his Tent and Chair of State. He had three Servants left in the Tent, who fearing they ſhould be beaten when their Maſter came back, and having no body elſe to help them, told *Dames*, that if he would lend them an Hand to ſet up the Tent, and put things in order, they would unbind him, upon Condition that he ſhould voluntarily return to his Bonds again, till their Maſter came home, at which time they promis'd to ſpeak a good Word for him. He readily accepted the Terms; but as ſoon as he was

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at Liberty, he immediately ſeiz'd two of them, one in his Right Hand, the other in his Left, and daſh'd their two Heads ſo violently againſt the third Man's, that they all three fell down dead upon the Place. Then he open'd a Cheſt, and took out a good Suit of Cloaths, and mounting a good Horſe of *Neſtorius*'s, he wrapp'd up his Face as well as he could, and made towards the Chriſtian *Arabs*, where *Jabalah* with the chief of his Tribe ſtood on the Left Hand of *Heraclius*. In the mean time, *Dehâc* and *Neſtorius*, being equally match'd, continu'd fighting, ſtill both their Horſes were quite tir'd out, and they were oblig'd to part by Conſent, to reſt themſelves. *Neſtorius* returning to his Tent, and finding things in ſuch a Poſture, eaſily gueſs'd that it muſt be *Dames* his doing. The News flew inſtantly through all the Army, and every one was ſurpriz'd at the Strangeneſs of the Action. *Dames*, in the mean time, had gotten among the Chriſtian *Arabs*, and ſtriking off at one Blow a Mans Head that ſtood next him, made a ſpeedy Eſcape to the Saracen Army.

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All this while *Youkínna* was contriving which way to do the Saracens Service; and when *Derar* and his Companions had been Priſoners eight Months, and were juſt about being beheaded, he interceeded with the Emperor to ſpare them; aſſuring him, that if he put them to Death, the Saracens would never more give Quarter to any Chriſtian, when-ever any of them ſhould fall into their Hands. The Emperor not ſuſpecting any Treachery, committed them to his Care; who, watching a convenient Opportunity, ſet them at Liberty, and gave them their Arms, aſſuring them, that there were a great many Perſons of the higheſt Quality in the Emperor's Service, who were fully reſolv'd to go over to the Saracens. The Emperor diſhearten'd with a conſtant Courſe of ill Succeſs, and terrify'd with a Dream which he had of one thruſting him out of his Throne, and his Crown falling from his Head, took ſome of his Domeſticks, and eſcaping privately to the Sea-ſhore, embark'd for *Conſtantinople*.

Our Author tells us a ſtrange Story of the Emperor's turning *Mahometan*, which was occaſion'd by a great Pain in

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in his Head, for which he could get no help, till he applied himſelf to *Omar*, who ſent him a Cap, which ſo long as he wore, he was well; but when he took it off, it return'd again. The Emperor wondering at this ſtrange Effect, would have the Cap ripp'd open; but found nothing in it but a little Piece of Paper, with *Biſmillah, Arrahmâni 'rrahhîmi, In the Name of the moſt merciful God*, written upon it. This Cap, it ſeems, was poſſeſs'd by the Chriſtians till the Reign of *Almotáſem* (which began in the Year of our Lord 833.) who beſieging *Ammottriyah*, was grievouſly afflicted with the Head-Ach; upon which the Governour of the Town promis'd him the Cap, upon Condition that he ſhould raiſe the Siege. The *Caliph*, *Almotáſem*, undertook it, provided the Cap produc'd the deſired Effect, which it did incontinently, and the Siege was accordingly rais'd. The ſame Curioſity which mov'd the Emperor *Heraclius* to have the Cap open'd, made this *Caliph* do ſo too; but he found nothing in it but the above-mention'd Scrip of Paper, whoſe Vertue was not in the leaſt impair'd or diminiſh'd in the ſpace of two hun-

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hundred Years; which Period of Time, would, in all Probabilty, have made ſome Alteration in an ordinary Medicine. But the Caſe is quite different here, for we have been told by other Hands, that the Relicks of holy Men are never the worſe for wearing. What is it that ſome Men will not believe and write when once bigotted to Superſtition!

To return to the Army. *Antioch* was not loſt without a ſet Battel; but through the Treachery of *Youkinna*, and ſeveral other Perſons of Note, together with the Aſſiſtance of *Derar* and his Company, who were mixt with *Youkinna*'s Men, the Chriſtians were beaten entirely. The People of the Town perceiving the Battle loſt, made Agreement, and ſurrender'd, paying down three hundred thouſand Ducats. Upon which *Abu Obeidah* enter'd into *Antioch* on Tueſday, being the twenty firſt Day of *Auguſt*, in the Year of our Lord 638.

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Thus fell that ancient and famous City, the Seat of ſo many Kings and Princes, into the Hands of the Infidels. The Sweetneſs of the Situation, and Abundance of all things contributing to Delight and Luxury, was ſo great, that

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that *Abu Obeidah*, fearing leſt his Saracens, effeminated with the Delicacies of that Place, ſhould remit any thing of their wonted Vigour and Bravery, durſt not let them continue there long; but after three Days Refreſhment, withdrew them from thence.

Then he wrote a Letter to the *Caliph*, in which he gave him an Account of his great Succeſs in taking the *Metropolis* of *Syria*, and *Heraclius* his Flight to *Conſtantinople*: Telling him withal, what was the reaſon why he ſtaid no longer there. He added, That the Saracens were deſirous of marrying the *Grecian* Women, which he had forbidden. That he was afraid leſt the Love of the things of this World ſhould take Poſſeſſion of their Hearts, and draw them off from their Obedience to God. That he ſtaid expecting further Orders, *&c.*

Having written this Letter, he ask'd who would carry it. *Zeid Ebn Waheb*, who was *Omar Ebn Auf*'s Slave, profer'd his Service. *Abu Obeidah* told him, that ſince he was a Slave, he could not in any caſe diſpoſe of his Service, but muſt firſt ask his Maſter's Leave. *Zeid* hereupon went to his Maſter, and bow'd

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bow'd himſelf down to the Ground, to touch it with his Forehead, according to the manner of Proſtration in the *Eaſtern* Countries: But his Maſter forbad him, being a Man altogether abſtracted from the Love of the Things of this World, and not deſiring any ſuch Reſpect, as being wholly intent and fix'd upon the other World. He was abſtinent to ſuch a degree, that his whole Inventory conſiſted in theſe few Neceſſaries; a Sword, a Launce, a Horſe, a Camel, a Knapſack, a Platter, and an Alcoran. When any part of the Spoil fell to his Share, he never laid up any thing for himſelf, but always divided it amongſt his Friends; and if there was any thing left, he ſent it to the *Caliph*, to be diſtributed among the Poor. *Zeid* having ask'd his leave to carry the Letter, he was ſo well pleas'd to ſee ſuch a good Inclination in his Slave, to be a Meſſenger of good News to the *Caliph*, that he immediately gave him his Freedom. When *Zeid* came near to *Medinah*, he was ſurpriz'd with an unuſual Noiſe; but upon Enquiry, he was inform'd, that the Caliph was going on Pilgrimage to *Meccah*, and the Prophet's Wives along with him.

him. *Omar*, having heard the News, fell down and worſhipp'd, ſaying, *O God! Praiſe and Thanks be to thee, for thine abundant Grace.* Having read the Letter, he wept, and ſaid, that *Abu Obeidah* had not been kind to the *Muſlemans*. Then ſitting down upon the Ground, (for he was on his Journey) he wrote an Anſwer to *Abu Obeidah*; in which, after having expreſs'd with what Satisfaction he receiv'd the News of his good Succeſs; he blam'd him, for not having been more indulgent to the *Muſlemans*; adding, *That God did not forbid the Uſe of the good Things of this Life to faithful Men, and ſuch as perform'd good Works: Wherefore he ought to have given them leave to reſt themſelves, and partake freely of thoſe good Things which the Country afforded. That if any of the Saracens had no Family in* Arabia, *they might marry in* Syria; *and whoſoever of them wanted any Female-Slaves, might purchaſe as many as he had Occaſion for.* He order'd him to purſue the Enemy, and enter into the Mountainous part of the Country; and then concluded. Omar. Alwákidi.

Zeid returning to the Army with the *Caliph*'s Letter, found the Saracens full of Joy; occaſion'd by *Caled*'s good Succeſs,

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ceſs, who had gone through the Country as far as the *Euphrates*, and taken *Menbigz*, and ſome other neighbouring Towns, as *Berâa* and *Báles*, upon Surrender; the Inhabitants paying down one hundred thouſand Ducats for their preſent Security, and ſubmitting to Tribute for the time to come. This was done in the Month *Moharram*, of the eighteenth Year of the *Hegjrah*; which anſwers partly to *January*, of the Year of our Lord 638, according to our Account. Our Author muſt here, as in ſome other Places, anſwer for his own Chronology; for the Meſſenger *Zeid* was ſent to *Medinah* preſently after the taking of *Antioch*, which was in *Auguſt*; and there is no account given of any Buſineſs extraordinary that detain'd him there: Which makes it look ſomething ſtrange, that he ſhould be four Months going and returning from *Antioch* (or *Aleppo*) to *Medinah*, eſpecially conſidering with what quick Diſpatch the Saracens us'd to move upon ſuch Occaſions.

Abu Obeidah having receiv'd the *Caliph*'s Letter, ask'd the *Muſlemans*, which of them would undertake to make an Attempt upon the mountainous

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ous part of the Country. Whether the Difficulty of the Service, or what other Reaſon diſcourag'd them, is uncertain; but no body anſwer'd him the two firſt times. At laſt *Méiſarah Ebn Meſrouk* profer'd his Service, and receiv'd at the Hands of the General a black Flag, with this Inſcription upon it in white Letters, THERE IS BUT ONE GOD: *MAHOMET* IS THE APOSTLE OF GOD. He took along with him 300 choſen *Arabs*, beſides 1000 Slaves, Blacks, commanded by *Dames*. They found it a very uneaſy Undertaking; for tho the Summer came on a-pace, they were forc'd to make uſe of all the Cloaths they had, and knew very well what to have done with more; for they met with nothing but Froſt and Snow amongſt the Mountains; which was extreamly diſagreeable to their Bodies, who had been brought up under the *Torrid Zone*. Marching a long way, they came to a Village; but finding no body in it (for the Country fled before them) they took what there was, and mov'd forwards. At laſt they took a Priſoner, who inform'd them, that there were Forces of the Emperor, to

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to the number of thirty thouſand, ſent to guard that part of the Country, not above three Leagues diſtant. They ask'd him, whether it were moſt adviſable to advance towards them, or ſtand their Ground. To which he anſwer'd, *That it were better for them to ſtay where they were, than to hazard themſelves by going any further among the Mountains.* The *Saracens* having examin'd him as long as they thought fit, offer'd him the *Mahometan* Religion; which he refuſing, was beheaded. In a ſhort time after, the *Greeks* came within ſight, and the Battle was join'd. *Méiſarah*, over-power'd with Multitude, was ſoon ſurrounded. However he ſent a Meſſenger to *Abu Obeidah*, who made ſuch haſt, that as ſoon as he came into his Preſence, he was not able to ſpeak a Word, but fell down in a Swoon. *Abu Obeidah* having caus'd ſome Water to be ſprinkled on his Face, and refreſh'd him with Meat and Drink, he came to himſelf, and deliver'd his Errand. Upon which *Abu Obeidah* ſent *Caled* to *Méiſarah*'s Aſſiſtance with 3000 Horſe; and after him *Ayâd Ebn Ganam* with 2000 more. But before they came up, *Abdollâh Ebn Hodâpha*,

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pha, a *Saracen* of Note, and much belov'd by the *Caliph*, was taken Prisoner, and sent away towards *Constantinople*. The *Greeks* perceiving there were fresh Supplies come to the *Saracens*, durst not run the hazard of another Battle the next Day, but withdrew in the Night, and left their Tents to the *Saracens*. They not thinking it a prudent part to pursue the Enemy any further in that mountainous Country, return'd to *Abu Obeidah*, who writing an Account of the whole Business to *Medinah*, the *Caliph* was extremely concern'd at the Loss of *Abdollâh Ebn Hodâpha*, which occasion'd his writing the following Letter to the Emperor *Heraclius*.

In the Name of the most merciful God.

* Praise be to God, Lord of this and the other World †: Who has neither ‖ Female-Consort, nor Son. *And the Blessing of God be upon* Mahomet, *his Prophet and Apostle* * *divinely assisted. From the Servant of God*, Omar Ebn Alchitab *to* Heraclius *King of* Greece. *As soon as this Letter of mine shall come to thy Hands, send to me the Prisoner that*

* Alcoran, *Chap.* I. 1.
† Alcoran, *Chap.* LXXII.
‖ Arab. Sanhibah.
* Arab. Almowayad.

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is with thee; whoſe Name is Abdollâh Ebn Hodâpha: *Which if thou ſhalt do, I ſhall hope that God will direct thee into the* * *right Way. But if thou refuſeſt, I ſhall ſend thee Men* †, whom Trade and Merchandice ſhall not divert from the Remembrance of God. ‖ Health and Happineſs be upon every one that follows the right Way.

* *That is, into the Profeſſion of the Mahometan Religion.*

† Alcoran, *Chap.* XXIV. 37. LXIII. 9.

‖ Alcor. *Chap.* XX. 49.

I do not queſtion but the Reader will think this Letter writ in a very particular Stile; but it is no other than what might be expected from thoſe moſt inveterate and mortal Enemies of Chriſtianity, who made it always their Buſineſs to treat the Profeſſors of it with the utmoſt Contempt and Averſion. This Priſoner, *Abdollâh Ebn Hodâpha*, was *Mahomet*'s Couſin-German. Our Author tells us, that the Emperor made him very large Proffers, if he would have renounc'd his *Mahometaniſm*; but all in vain. Nor were his Threats more influencing than his Promiſes. It ſeems he profer'd him his Liberty, if he would but have made one ſingle Adoration before a Crucifix. The Emperor would have perſwaded him to have drunk Wine, and eat Hogs Fleſh; which

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which he refuſing, was ſhut up into a Room where he had nothing elſe. Upon the fourth Day they viſited him, and found all untouch'd. The Emperor ask'd him, what hindred him from Eating and Drinking? To which he anſwer'd, *The Fear of God and his Apoſtle: Notwithſtanding* (added he) *I might lawfully have eat it after three Days Abſtinence, yet I abſtain'd, becauſe I would not be reproach'd by the Muſlemans.* *Heraclius* having receiv'd *Omar*'s Letter, not only diſmiſs'd the Priſoner, but gave both him and the Meſſenger that brought the Letter, ſeveral Preſents, and rich Cloaths, and allowed them a ſufficient Guard to conduct them ſafe through his Territories. Beſides all this, he made a Preſent of a coſtly Jewel to *Omar*, who offer'd it to the Jewellers at *Medinah*; but they were ignorant of the Worth of it. The *Muſlemans* would have perſwaded him to have kept it for his own Uſe; but he ſaid, he could not anſwer that to the Publick. Wherefore it was afterwards ſold, and the Price of it put into the publick Treaſury; of which the *Caliph* was in theſe Days only the Steward or Manager: For tho it was all at

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his Diſpoſal, yet he very ſeldom apply'd any of it to his own private Uſe, much leſs to Extravagance and Luxury; but took care to lay it out ſo as it might do moſt Service to the Publick.

We have before acquainted the Reader, that after *Omar* had taken *Jeruſalem*, he divided the Army, and ſent one part of it under *Abu Obeidah*, towards *Aleppo*; the other under *Amrou Ebno'l Aás* to *Ægypt*. *Amrou* did not march directly to *Ægypt*, but continu'd a while in *Paleſtine*, to take ſome Places there which as yet held out. As he was marching towards *Cæſarea*, the *Saracens* found the Weather extreamly cold. *Sobeih Ebn Hamzah*, eating ſome Grapes at that time, was ſo chill'd, that he was ſcarce able to endure it. An old Chriſtian that was preſent, told him, that if he found himſelf cold with eating the Grapes, the beſt Remedy would be to drink ſome of the Juice of them, and withal produc'd a large Veſſel of Wine. *Sobeih* and ſome of his Friends took the old Man's Advice, and drank ſo freely of his Liquor, that they went ſtaggering to the Army. *Amrou* underſtanding their Condition, wrot to

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to *Abu Obeidah*; by whoſe Order they all receiv'd a ſufficient Number of Stripes upon the Soles of their Feet. The Refreſhment they receiv'd by drinking the Wine, was ſo far, in their Opinion, from counter-balancing the Severity of the Puniſhment, that *Sobeih* ſwore he would kill the Fellow that help'd him to it; and had been as good as his Word, if one that was preſent had not told him, that the Man was under the Protection of the *Saracens*.

Conſtantine, the Emperor *Heraclius* his Son, guarded that part of the Country where *Amrou* lay, with a conſiderable Army; and frequently ſent Spies (Chriſtian *Arabs*) into his Camp. One of them went one time, and ſat down amongſt ſome *Arabs* of *Ayáman*, or *Arabia Fælix*, that had made them a Fire. Having convers'd with them as long as was for his Purpoſe, without being ſuſpected; as he was riſing to go away, he trod upon his Veſt and ſtumbled; upon which he ſwore, *By Chriſt*, unawares. The Oath was no ſooner out of his Mouth, but they immediately knew him to be a Chriſtian Spy, and cut him to Pieces in an inſtant. *Amrou* was angry when he heard it,

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becauſe he would have had the examining him firſt. Beſides, he told them, *That it oftentimes happen'd, that a Spy, when put to it, came over to them, and embrac'd the Mahometan Religion.* Upon which he gave a ſtrict Order throughout the Camp, that if ever they met with a Stranger or Spy, they ſhould convey them to him.

The Armies drawing near, there came a Chriſtian Prieſt to the *Saracens*, who deſir'd that an *Emîr*, or *Principal Officer*, might be ſent to *Conſtantine*, to diſcourſe with him. There was a huge, monſtrous Fellow, a Black, whoſe Name was *Belâl Ebn Rebah*, who proffer'd his Service. But *Amrou* told him, that it would be better to ſend an *Arabian*, who could talk more politely than an *Æthiopian*. *Belâl*, reſolving, if poſſible, to take no Denial, adjur'd him by God to let him go. To which *Amrou* anſwer'd, *That ſince he had adjur'd him by the moſt Mighty, it ſhould be ſo.* This *Belâl* had formerly been *Mahomet*'s *Crier*; that is, the Perſon that calls the People together to Prayers. And never exercis'd that Office (as the * Author of the Hiſtory of *Jeruſalem* ſays) after *Mahomet*'s Death, but

* MS. Arab. Pococ. Num. 362.

but only once, when *Omar* commanded him to perform that Service at the taking of *Jeruſalem*: Otherwiſe, I ſuppoſe it would have been beneath him to have ſerv'd any other Perſon, who had been employ'd after that manner by the Prophet; but the taking of *Jeruſalem*, which had been the Seat of the ancient Prophets, and was a Place very much reverenc'd by the *Mahometans*, was an extraordinary Occaſion *. When he came to the Prieſt, he diſdain'd to have an *Æthiopian* ſent, and bad him go back again, telling him, that his Maſter *Conſtantine* had not ſent for a Slave, but an Officer. *Belâl*, who valu'd himſelf very much upon his Office, and expected every one ſhould do ſo too, thought himſelf affronted; and let him know, that he had been no leſs a Perſon than the *Muézzin* of the Apoſtle of God, and that he was able to give his Maſter an Anſwer. But this not being receiv'd, he was forc'd to go back again; and at laſt *Amrou* reſolv'd to go himſelf. It will not be amiſs to inſert a ſhort Account of their Conference, as deliver'd by our Author, that the Reader may ſee what ſort of a Notion the *Mahometans* have of ancient

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When *Amrou* came into *Conſtantine*'s Preſence, he offer'd him a Seat; but, according to the Practice of the *Saracens*, he refus'd to make uſe of it; chuſing rather to ſit croſs-legg'd upon the Ground, with his Sword upon his Thigh, and his Launce laid a-croſs before him. *Conſtantine* told him, that the *Arabs* and *Greeks* were near Kindred, and that it was pity they ſhould make War one upon the other. *Amrou* anſwer'd, *That their Religion was different; upon which ſcore it was lawful for Brothers to quarrel. However*, he ſaid, *he deſir'd to know which way the* * Koreiſhæ *came to be ſo near akin to the* Greeks? *Conſtantine* anſwer'd (according to our Author) Was not our firſt Father *Adam*, then *Noah*, then *Abraham*, then *Eſau*, then *Iſaac*, which were both Sons of *Abraham* († the Bleſſing of God be upon them all.) Now one Brother ought not to do Injuſtice to another, and quarrel about that Diviſion which was made for them by their Fore-fathers. *Thus far you ſay true*, anſwer'd *Amrou*, *That* ‖ Eſau *begot* I-

* *A noble Tribe among the* Arabs, *of which* Mahomet *was.*

† *That is an Expreſſion us'd by the* Arab *Writers, whenever they mention any of the ancient Prophets.*

‖ *He makes ſtrange Work of this Genealogy; but the* Arabick *may be read,* Eſau Walado Iſhác; *i. e.* Eſau *is the Son of* Iſaac; *not* wálada, *begot* Iſaac. *But if, to help him out, we ſhou'd read it ſo, we contradict him, for juſt before he reckons* Eſau *before* Iſaac.

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ſaac, *and* Iſhmael *is* Eſau's *Uncle*; *and ſo we are the Sons of one Father, and* Noah *was our Father. Now* Noah *divided the Land into Parts when he was angry with his Son* Ham; *with which Diviſion they were not pleas'd, but quarrel'd about it: And this Land in which you are, is not yours properly, but belongs to the* Amalekites, *who had it before you. For* Noah *divided it among his three Sons,* Sem, Ham, *and* Japhet; *and gave his Son* Sem, Syria, *and what lies round it, from* Arabia Fœlix *and* Hadramut *to* Ammân; *and all the* Arabs *are the Offſpring of* Sem *and* Kahtân, *and* Teſm, *and* Jodais, *and* Amalek *who is the Father of the* Amalekites. *To his Son* Ham *he gave the Weſt and Sea-ſhore; and he left* Japhet *between the Eaſt and Weſt;*

* For the Earth is the Lord's, he gives it as an Inheritance to which of his Servants he pleaſes, and the latter End is to the Faithful. *We therefore,* adds *Amrou, deſire to have this ancient Diviſion reſtored, and make things equal after this manner. We will take what is in your Hands, and you ſhall take the Stones and Thorns, and barren Grounds which we poſſeſs, in lieu of theſe pleaſant Rivers, rich Paſtures, and ſtately Buildings.*

* Alcoran, *Ch.* VII. 125.

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Conſtantine told him, that the Diviſion was already made, and that it would be great Injuſtice in them not to be content with what had fallen to their Share. To which *Amrou* anſwer'd, *That they liked the Proviſion and manner of Living in* Syria, *ſo much better than their own courſe Fare at home, that they could never think of leaving the Country till they had conquer'd it, and could ſit down at quiet under thoſe ſhady Trees.* A little while after, he told thoſe that were preſent, *That it would be no hard matter for them to continue in the Poſſeſſion of what they had; for it was only changing their Religion, and the Buſineſs was done.* But both that and Payment of Tribute being refus'd, *Amrou* told 'em, *That there was nothing now left, but to determine it by the Sword.* God *knows*, ſaid he, *that I have call'd you to the means by which you might ſave your ſelves, but you are rebellious, juſt as your Father* * Eſau *was diſobedient to his Mother: You reckon your ſelves akin to us, but we deſire to have nothing to do with your Affinity, ſo long as you continue Infidels. You, beſides, are the*

* *This the* Mahometans *have from the* Jews, *who believe moſt Europeans to be the Off-ſpring of* Eſau. Abarbanel *takes a great deal of Pains to prove it, and thoſe* Jews *I have convers'd with are of the ſame Opinion.*

the Off-ſpring of Eſau, *we of* * Iſhmael: *And God choſe our Prophet* Mahomet *from* Adam, *to the time that he came out of the Loins of his Father; and made him the beſt of the Sons of* Iſhmael, (*and his Father* Iſhmael *was the firſt that ſpoke Arabick*) *and he made the Tribe of* Kenánah *the beſt of the* Arabs; *and the Family of* Koreiſhæ *the beſt of* Kenánah; *and the Off-ſpring of* Haſhem, *the beſt of the* Koreiſhæ; *and the beſt of the Sons of* Haſhem, Abdo'lmutaleb *the Prophet's Grandfather; and ſent the Angel* Gabriel *down to him* [Mahomet] *with Inſpiration.*

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* *Amongſt other blind Stories which ſome of the Chriſtian Writers have told of the* Saracens, *this is one*, viz. That they called themſelves *Saracens*, becauſe they would have the World believe that they were deſcended from *Sarah*, *Abraham*'s lawful Wife; being aſham'd of *Hagar* his Slave. *but the contrary is moſt evident, for they are neither aſham'd of* Iſhmael *nor* Hagar. *As for* Iſhmael, *we have an Inſtance in this very Place: And for* Hagar, *the Reader may conſult the* Jauharian, (*a famous* Arab *Lexicographer*) *who in the Word* Agara, *ſays*, Hagar *is the Mother of* Iſhmael, *upon whom be Peace.*

The Conference ending without any Hopes of Accommodation, *Amrou* return'd to his Army, and both ſides prepared for Battle, as ſoon as a convenient Opportunity ſhould offer it ſelf. One Day, there came forth out of *Conſtantine*'s Army, an Officer very richly dreſs'd, which made ſeveral of the *Saracens* deſirous of fighting with him, in hopes of carrying off his Spoil. *Amrou* us'd to ſay, *That he would have no Man*

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Man go to fight out of Greedineſs; for the Reward which was to be expected from God, was much better than the Spoil of the Enemy. He added, *That whoſoever was kill'd in Battle, loſt his Life either for the ſake of God, or elſe for ſome other End which he propos'd to himſelf. If the former, then God would be his Reward; but if he propos'd any temporal Thing, he was to expect nothing elſe, and that he had heard the Prophet ſpeak to the ſame purpoſe.* There came forth to this Officer a beardleſs Stripling, whoſe forward Zeal had prompted him on to leave *Arabia Fælix*, and venture himſelf in the Wars. His Mother and Siſter had hitherto bore him Company in his Travels. This Youth us'd to ſay, *That it was not the Delicacies of* Syria, *that mov'd him to go thither, (becauſe the Delights of this World were fading, but thoſe of the other durable.) But that his Deſire was to fight for the Service of God, ſeeking the Favour of God and his Apoſtle. Becauſe he had heard one ſay, that the Martyrs ſhall be maintain'd with their Lord. How can that be,* anſwer'd his Siſter, *how can they be maintain'd when dead?* He anſwer'd, *That he had heard one that was acquainted with the Apoſtle of God, ſay, That*

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That the Spirits of the Martyrs ſhall be put into the Crops of green Birds that live in Paradiſe, which Birds ſhall eat the Fruits of Paradiſe, and drink the Rivers; this is the Maintenance which God has provided for them. He went out to fight with the Chriſtian, after he had taken his laſt Leave of his Mother and Siſter, and told them, that they ſhould meet again at that † large Water which belongs to the Apoſtle of God in Paradiſe. The Chriſtian Officer not only kill'd this Youth, but two or three more. At laſt *Serjabil Ebn Hoſanah* came forth to him; but he was ſo emaciated with Watching and Faſting, that he was not able to ſtand before him. The Chriſtian at laſt got him down, ſat upon him, and was juſt going to cut his Throat; when on a ſudden there came a Horſeman out of the Grecian Army, who immediately kick'd the Chriſtian off, and taking him at Advantage, ſtruck his Head off. *Serjabil*, ſurpriz'd at this unexpected Deliverance, ask'd him, who he was, and from whence he came? *I am*, ſaid he, *the unhappy* Tulèiha Ebn Chowáiled, *who pretended to propheſy like the Apoſtle of God; and lyed againſt God, ſaying, that Inſpiration came*

† Arab. Hhaud.

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came down to me from Heaven. *Serjabil* anſwer'd, *O Brother! God's Mercy is infinite; and he that repents, and forſakes, and turns himſelf to God; he accepts of his Repentance, and forgives him what he has done; for the Prophet ſays,* Repentance takes away what was done before it. *And doſt thou not know, O* Ebn Chowáiled, *that God ſaid to our Prophet,* My Mercy is extended to every Creature that deſires it? And ſaid what he could to comfort him. Notwithſtanding which, conſcious to himſelf of the Groſſneſs of his Crime, he could not find in his Heart to return to the *Saracens*; but being very much preſs'd to it by *Serjabil*, he at laſt told him in plain Terms, that he was afraid of *Caled*, (the Scourge of falſe Prophets, who broke them to Pieces at firſt, and kill'd *Moſeilamah*, the Chief of them) *Serjabil* aſſur'd him, that *Caled* was not preſent, but ſtaid at *Aleppo* with *Abu Obeidah*. At laſt, with much ado, he perſwaded him to go with him to the Army. This *Tuleiha*, after *Moſeilamah* was kill'd, withdrew himſelf out of *Arabia*, which would then have been ſoon too hot for him, and went and liv'd privately with a *Mahometan* in *Syria*,

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ria, who maintain'd him for a while; till at last they being very familiar, and thoroughly acquainted, *Tuléiha* made himself known, and gave him an Account of his whole Story. His Landlord, as soon as he understood his Character, treated him with the utmost Aversion, and would entertain him no longer, but turn'd him out of Doors. Reduc'd to this Extremity, he was almost at his Wits End, and had some Thoughts of taking Ship, and retiring into some Island: But *Constantine*'s Army coming into those Parts before he could put his Design in Execution, he chose rather to list himself under him, in hopes of finding an Opportunity of ingratiating himself with the Muslemans.

Being at last prevail'd upon to go back to the *Saracens*, he was very courteously receiv'd by *Amrou*; who not only gave him Thanks for his singular Service, but upon his expressing his Apprehensions of *Caled*, promis'd to secure him, and wrote a recommendatory Letter to *Omar*, acquainting him with the signal Proof which *Tuléiha* had given of his sincere and unfeigned Repentance. *Tuléiha* found the *Caliph* at

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Meccah: Delivering the Letter, and withal telling him that he repented, *Omar* ask'd who he was? and had no ſooner heard his Name mention'd, but he made off as faſt as he could, ſaying, *Alas for thee! If I forgive thee, how ſhall I give an Account to God of the Murder of* Ocâſah? *Tuléiha* anſwer'd, Ocâſah *indeed ſuffer'd Martyrdom by my Hands, which I am very ſorry for, and I hope that God will forgive me what I have done.* *Omar* deſir'd to know what Proof he could give of his Sincerity; but having perus'd *Amrou*'s Letter, he was abundantly ſatisfy'd, and kept him with him till he return'd to *Medinah*, after which he employ'd him in his Wars againſt the *Perſians*.

To return to *Conſtantine*'s Army. The Weather was very cold, and the Chriſtians were quite diſhearten'd, having been frequently beaten themſelves, and diſcouraged daily with the encreaſing Power of the *Saracens*; ſo that a great many grew weary of the Service, and withdrew themſelves from the Army. *Conſtantine*, having no Hopes of the Victory, and fearing leſt the *Saracens* ſhould ſeize *Cæſarea*, took an Opportunity in a tempeſtuous Night

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Night to move off; and left his Camp to the *Saracens*. *Amrou* acquainting *Abu Obeidah* with all that had happen'd, receiv'd expreſs Orders to march directly to *Cæſarea*, where he promis'd to join him ſpeedily, in order to go againſt *Tripoli*, *Accah* and *Tyre*. In a little time after *Tripoli* was ſurpriz'd by the Treachery of *Youkinna*, who having gotten it on a ſudden, and without any Noiſe, there came thither a little while after, about fifty Ships with Proviſion and Arms from *Cyprus* and *Crete*, which were to go to *Conſtantine*. The Officers not knowing that *Tripoli* was fallen into the Hands of new Maſters, made no ſcruple of landing there, where they were courteouſly received by *Youkinna*, who profer'd the utmoſt of his Service, and promis'd to go along with them. But immediately ſeiz'd both them and their Ships, and deliver'd the Town into the Hands of *Caled*, who was juſt come.

With theſe Ships the Traytor *Youkinna* goes to *Tyre*, where he tells the Inhabitants, that he had brought Arms and Proviſion for *Conſtantine*'s Army. Upon which he was kindly receiv'd, and he with nine hundred of

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his Men landed, and were entertain'd. But being betray'd by one of his own Men, he and his Crew were ſeiz'd and bound; receiving all the while ſuch Treatment from the Soldiers, as their villainous Practices beſt deſerv'd. In the mean time *Yezid Ebn Abi Sophyan*, being ſent by *Abu Obeidah* from the Siege of *Cæſarea*, came within Sight of *Tyre*. The Governour perceiving this, caus'd *Youkínna* and his Men to be convey'd to the Caſtle, and there ſecur'd. Having done this, he prepares for the Defence of the Town; and perceiving that *Yezid* had but a ſmall Number, (his Army not exceeding two Thouſand) he reſolv'd to make a Salley. In the mean time, the reſt of the Inhabitants ran up to the Walls, to ſee the Engagement. Whilſt they were fighting, *Youkínna* and his Men were ſet at Liberty by one *Baſil*, of whom they give the following Account: *viz.* "That this *Baſil* going one Day to pay "a Viſit to *Bohéirah* the Monk, the "Caravan of the *Koreiſhæ* came by, "with which were *Cadijah*'s Camels, "which were look'd after by *Maho-*"*met*. He look'd towards the Cara-"van, in the Middle of which was

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" *Mahomet*, and there was a Cloud " upon him to keep him from the Sun. " Then the Caravan alighted, and " *Mahomet* leaning againſt an old, wi- " ther'd Tree, it immediately brought " forth Leaves. *Bohéirah* perceiving " this, made an Entertainment for the " Caravan, and invited them into the " Monaſtery; *Mahomet* ſtaying behind " with the Camels. *Bohéirah* miſſing " him, ask'd if there were all of them? " Yes, they ſaid, all but a little Boy " they had left to look after their " Things, and feed the Camels. *What* " *is his Name?* ſays *Bohéirah.* They " told him *Mohammed Ebn Abdo'llah.* " *Bohéirah* ask'd, if his Father and Mo- " ther were not dead, and if he was " not brought up by his Grandfather " and his Uncle. Being ſatisfy'd that " it was ſo, he ſaid, *O* Koreiſh! *Set a* " *great Value upon him, for he is your* " *Lord, and by him will your Power be* " *great both in this World, and that to* " *come; for he is your Ornament and Glo-* " *ry.* They ask'd him how he knew " that? *Becauſe*, anſwer'd *Bohéirah, as* " *you were coming, there was never a Tree,* " *nor Stone, nor Clod, but bow'd it ſelf* " *and worſhipp'd God. Bohéirah* beſides

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" told this *Baſil*, that a great many " Prophets had lean'd againſt this " Tree, and ſat under it, but it ne- " ver bore any Leaves before, ſince it " was wither'd. *And I heard him ſay*, " (ſays this ſame *Baſil*) *This is the Pro-* " *phet, concerning whom* Iſa (*Jeſus*) *ſpake,* " *happy is he that believes in him, and fol-* " *lows him, and gives Credit to his Miſſion.* This *Baſil*, after this Viſit to *Bohéirah*, had gone to *Conſtantinople*, and other Parts of the *Greek* Emperor's Territories, and upon Information of the great Succeſs of the Followers of this Prophet, was abundantly convinc'd of the Truth of his Miſſion. This enclin'd him, having ſo fair an Opportunity offer'd, to releaſe *Youkínna* and his Men; who ſending word to the Ships, the reſt of their Forces landed and join'd them. In the mean time, a Meſſenger in Diſguiſe was ſent to acquaint *Yezid* with what was done. As ſoon as he return'd, *Youkínna* was for falling upon the Townſmen upon the Wall; but *Baſil* ſaid, *Perhaps God might lead ſome of them into the right Way*; and perſwaded him rather to place the Men ſo, as their coming down from the Wall might be prevented. This done,

done, they cry out *La Ilaha*, &c. The People perceiving themſelves betray'd, and the Priſoners at Liberty, were in the utmoſt Confuſion ; none of them being able to ſtir a Step, or lift up an Hand. Thoſe in the Camp, hearing the Noiſe in the City, knew what was the Occaſion of it, and *Youkinna* open'd the Gates and let them in. Thoſe that were in the City, fled ; ſome one way, ſome another ; and were purſued by the *Saracens*, and put to the Sword. Thoſe upon the Wall, cry'd, *Quarter: Yezid* told them, That ſince they had not ſurrender'd, but the City was taken by Force, they were all Slaves. *However*, ſaid he, *we of our own accord ſet you free, upon Condition you pay Tribute ; and if any of you has a mind to change his Religion, he ſhall fare as well as we do.* The greateſt part of them turn'd *Mahometans*. When *Conſtantine* heard of the Loſs of *Tripoli* and *Tyre*, his Heart fail'd him, and taking ſhipping with his Family and Wealth, he departed for *Conſtantinople*. All this while *Amrou Ebno'l Aâs* lay before *Cæſarea*. In the Morning, when the People came to enquire after *Conſtantine*, and could hear no Tidings of him nor his

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Family; they adviſ'd together, and with one Conſent ſurrender'd the City to *Amrou*, paying down for their Security two hundred thouſand Pieces of Silver, and delivering into his Hands whatſoever belong'd to *Conſtantine*, that he had not carry'd away with him. Thus was *Cæſarea* loſt, in the Year of our Lord ſix hundred and thirty nine, being the ſeventeenth Year of the *Hegjrah*, and the fifth of *Omar*'s Reign; which anſwers to the 29th Year of the Reign of the Emperor *Heraclius*. Upon which, thoſe other Places in *Syria*, which as yet held out, namely, *Ramlah*, *Accah*, *Joppe*, *Aſcalon*, *Gaza*, *Sichem* [or *Nabolos*] and *Tiberias* ſurrender'd, and in a little time after, the People of *Beirout*, *Zidon*, *Jabalah*, and *Laodicea*, follow'd their Example; ſo that there remain'd nothing more to be done in *Syria*, but all was entirely ſubdu'd to the *Saracens*, who had not ſpent above ſix Years (from the time of their firſt Expedition in *Abubeker*'s Reign) in ſubjugating that large, wealthy and populous Country.

Hegjrah 17. A. D. 639.

THUS

THUS have I given the Reader the beſt Account I was able, of the *Saracens* Conqueſt of *Syria*; following all along, as to Matter of Fact, my Author *Alwákidi*, who has written the moſt particular Relation of that part of the Hiſtory that I have yet met with; or that is extant, to the beſt of my Knowledge. As for that little which remains, in order to the compleating the Lives of this and the ſucceeding *Caliph*, ſince the ſhort time of my Continuance at *Oxford* would not permit me to ſearch for, or excerpt any more Manuſcripts, I muſt be content to depend upon thoſe Authors which have been already publiſh'd; as * *Eutychius*, *Elmakîn*, and *Abu'lpharagius*: In which, tho we have not ſo large and particular an Account as in the former Part of our Hiſtory; yet the Reader will find ſomething which ſhall ſtill contribute to the better Knowledge of that People, and increaſe his Admiration, at the wonderful Succeſs of their Arms, by which they arriv'd at that ſtupendious Greatneſs.

* Eutychius, Elmakîn, *and* Abu'lpharagius.

Syria being conquer'd, remain'd not long in the Poſſeſſion of thoſe Perſons

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who had the chief Hand in ſubduing it; for in the eighteenth Year of the *Hegjrah*, which anſwers moſtly to the Year of our Lord 639. There was ſuch terrible Mortality both of Men and Beaſts, in *Syria*, particularly at *Emáus*, and the adjacent Territory, that the *Arabs* call'd that Year, * *The Year of Deſtruction*, by way of Diſtinction. The *Saracens* loſt by that Plague five and twenty Thouſand Men, among which were *Abu Obeidah*, (who was then 58 Years old) *Serjabil Ebn Haſanah*, formerly *Mahomet*'s Secretary, and *Yezid Ebn Abi Sophyan*, with ſeveral other *Saracens* of Note. † *Caled* ſurviv'd them about three Years, and then died; but the Place of his Burial (conſequently of his Death, for they did not uſe in thoſe Days to carry them far) is uncertain; ſome ſay at *Hems*; others at *Medinah*.

* Amo'l remádah.

† Author of the Hiſtory of Jeruſalem, *above cited.*

Amrou Ebno'l Aâs, having ſtaid as long in *Syria* as was neceſſary, purſuant to the *Caliph*'s Command, prepar'd for his Expedition into *Ægypt*. Whilſt he was upon his March, whether it proceeded from Envy, which always attends great Men, or whether *Othman Ebn Affâni* did not think him ſo pro-

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proper a Perſon for ſuch a Service; certain it is, that *Omar* was perſwaded by ſome that were about him, to recall him. That *Omar* himſelf entertain'd a good Opinion of him, and that he wrote to him rather to gratify the importunate Humour of his Friends, than out of any Diſlike, ſeems plain from the Contents of the Letter. For whereas he could have commanded him poſitively to have return'd, he writes only thus: *If this Letter comes to you before you get into* Ægypt, *return. But if you be enter'd into* Ægypt, *when the Meſſenger comes to you, go on with the Bleſſing of God, and aſſure your ſelf, that if you want any Supplies, I will take Care to ſend them.* The Meſſenger overtook *Amrou* before he was out of *Syria*; who either ſuſpecting, or having receiv'd ſecret Information of the Buſineſs, order'd him to wait upon him, till he ſhould be at leiſure to read the Letter. In the mean time he haſtens his March, fully reſolv'd not to open it till he came into the Confines of *Ægypt*. When he came to a Place call'd *Ariſh*, having aſſembled the Officers in his Tent, he call'd for the Meſſenger, and open'd the Letter with the ſame Gravity and Formality

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mality as if he had been altogether ignorant of the Contents of it. Having read it, he told the Company what was in it, and enquir'd of them, whether the Place where they then were, belong'd to *Syria* or *Ægypt*. They anſwer'd, to *Ægypt*. *Then*, ſaid *Amrou*, *we'll go on*. From thence he went to *Pharmah*; which he took after a Month's Siege. From thence to *Miſrah*, (formerly *Memphis*) now *Cairo*, ſituate on the *Weſtern* Bank of the River *Nilus*, and which had been the Seat of the ancient *Ægyptian* Kings. This Place the *Greeks* had fortify'd, as being the moſt conſiderable (except *Alexandria*) in all that Kingdom. There was an ancient Caſtle there, of great Strength. The *Greeks* made a large Moat or Trench round about it, into which they threw great Quantities of Nails, and Iron Spikes, to make it more difficult for the *Muſlemans* to paſs. *Amrou* with 4000 Men laid hard Siege to it; but when he had been there about ſeven Months, and could do nothing, he was forc'd to ſend to the *Caliph* for freſh Supplies; who, as ſoon as might be, recruited him with 4000 more. The Præfect or Lieutenant of *Miſrah*, that held it for the Emperor *Hera-*

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Heraclius, was one *Mokaukas*, of the Sect of the *Jacobites*, and a mortal Enemy to the *Greeks*. He had no deſign at all to ſerve the Emperor, but to provide for himſelf; having behav'd himſelf ſo ill, that he durſt not come into the Emperor's Preſence. For when *Coſroës*, the *Perſian*, had beſieg'd *Conſtantinople*, *Mokaukas* perceiving the Emperor in Diſtreſs, and daily expecting his Ruin, thought he had a fair Opportunity offer'd of making his Fortune, and took all the Tribute of *Ægypt* into his own Hand, without giving Account to the Emperor of one Penny. From that time, being conſcious to himſelf of his Deſerts, he us'd all the means he could to prejudice and hinder the Emperor; ſo natural is it for Men to hate thoſe whom they have injur'd. I ſhall not interrupt the ſmooth Courſe of Hiſtory with examining how far this Account agrees with the *Greek* Hiſtorians; but only ſay, that my Author, *Eutychius*, was himſelf Patriarch of *Alexandria*: *Mokaukas* his chief Care was not to defend the Caſtle in good earneſt, but to ſurrender it ſo as to procure good Terms for himſelf, and ſecure that vaſt Treaſure

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ſure which he had ſo ill gotten, whatever became of all the *Greeks* and the Orthodox Chriſtians, which he mortally hated. There was in the River, between the beſieg'd Caſtle and the oppoſite Bank, a little Iſland: *Mokaukas* perſwades the *Greeks* to go with him out of the Caſtle into that Iſland: telling them, *That ſince* Amrou *had freſh Supplies ſent him, it would be impoſſible for them to defend the Caſtle much longer; and that if they went into that Iſland, the River would be a much better Security for them, than the Caſtle.* This he did on purpoſe to leave the Caſtle naked, that the *Saracens* might take it the more eaſily, and upon that account grant him the better Terms. At laſt he prevail'd, and they went out of the South-Gate, and going aboard ſome little Veſſels which they had there, they quickly landed in the Iſland, having left only a few *Greeks* to defend the Caſtle, for all the *Cophties* went out with *Mokaukas*. The *Nile* then began to overflow. Then *Mokaukas* ſent Meſſengers to *Amrou* with Orders to this Effect; "You "*Arabians* have invaded our Country, "and given us a great deal of Trouble "and Diſturbance, without any Pro-

"vocation

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" vocation on our Side: And now aſ-
" ſure your ſelves, that the *Nile* will
" quickly ſurround your Camp, and
" you will all fall into our Hands.
" However, ſend ſome body to treat
" with us, and let us know your Buſi-
" neſs, and what you demand; per-
" haps when we come to talk about
" the Matter, Things may be ſo ſet-
" tled, as both Parties may be made
" eaſy, and a Peace concluded. *Mo-
kaukas* his Meſſengers had no ſooner de-
liver'd their Errand, but *Amrou* diſ-
patch'd *Abadah Ebno'l Samet*, a Black,
with Orders to go to *Mokaukas* with
the Meſſengers, and tell him his Mind.
Abadah coming into *Mokaukas* his Pre-
ſence, he bad him ſit down, and ask'd
him what they (meaning the *Arabs*)
meant, and what they would have.
Abadah gave him the ſame Anſwer as
the *Saracens* always us'd to do to all that
ask'd them that Queſtion; telling him,
*That he had three Things to propoſe to him
by the Command of* Amrou, *who had re-
ceived the ſame Order from his Maſter* O-
mar *the Caliph*; viz. *That they ſhould ei-
ther change their Religion, and become
Mahometans, and ſo have a Right and
Title to all Privileges in common with 'em*;

Or

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Or elſe pay perpetual Tribute Yearly, and ſo come under their Protection; Or elſe they muſt fight it out till the Sword decided the Controverſy between them. Theſe, as we have often obſerv'd before, were the Conditions which they propoſed to all People where they came; The propagating their Religion being to them a juſt Occaſion of making War upon any Nation whatſoever. To theſe hard Terms *Mokaukas* made Anſwer, *That as to the firſt of them they would never ſubmit; but he and his Friends the* Cophties *would willingly pay Tribute.* The *Greeks* obſtinately refus'd to become Tributaries, and were reſolv'd to fight it out to the laſt; but *Mokaukas* cared not what became of them, ſo he might ſave himſelf and his Money. *Abadah* having finiſh'd this Buſineſs, return'd from the Caſtle to the Camp; and when he had acquainted *Amrou* with all that had paſs'd, and that there were only a few *Greeks* in the Caſtle; the *Saracens* renew'd their Aſſault, and *Zobair* ſcaled the Walls, and cry'd out, *Allàh Acbar.* The *Greeks* perceiving that the Caſtle was loſt, went into their Boats as faſt as they could, and eſcap'd to the Iſland. The *Saracens*, poſſeſs'd of

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of the Caſtle, kill'd and took Priſoners thoſe few that remain'd. The *Greeks* now plainly underſtanding *Mokaukas* his Fraud, durſt truſt themſelves no longer ſo near him, but going aboard their Ships, got to Shore, and march'd to *Keramo'l Shoraik*, a place between *Cairo* and *Alexandria*, and put themſelves into as good a Poſture of Defence as they could. In the mean time *Mokaukas* diſcours'd with *Amrou* about the Conditions of Peace; which were, *That all the* Cophties *which lived both above and below* Cairo *ſhould pay yearly two Ducats, without any Difference or Diſtinction to be made between Rich or Poor; only Boys under ſixteen Years of Age, decripit old Men, and all Women, were exempted from paying any thing.* The Number of the *Cophties* which were then polled, was ſix Millions; according to which Account, the yearly Tribute of *Cair*, and the neighbouring Territory, amounted to twelve Millions of Ducats. *Mokaukas* begg'd of *Amrou*, that he might be always reckon'd among the *Cophties*, and tax'd as they were; declaring, that he deſir'd to have nothing in common with the *Greeks*, for he was none of them, nor of their

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their Religion; but had only for a while diſſembled the Matter, for fear of his Life; and intreated him never to make Peace with the *Greeks*, but perſecute them to Death; and for his own part, he deſir'd that when he died, he might be buried in St. *John*'s Church in *Alexandria*. All this *Amrou* promis'd to perform, upon Condition that the *Cophties* ſhould be oblig'd to entertain any *Muſleman* whatſoever, who had occaſion to paſs through the Country, three Days *gratis*, and repair two Bridges which were broken, and prepare Places for the Entertainment of himſelf and his Army, and take care that the Country People ſhould bring in Proviſion to be ſold in the Camp, and clear the Way from *Cairo* to *Alexandria*, (which he was then going to beſiege) building ſuch Bridges as were neceſſary for the Army to march. Theſe Terms were readily accepted by the *Cophties*, who aſſiſted them with every thing they wanted. *Amrou* march'd till he came to *Keramo'l Shoraik*, where the *Greeks* that fled from *Cairo* were. They fought three Days continually, but at laſt the *Greeks* were forc'd to give way. They had ſome other Battles before they

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they came to *Alexandria*, in which the *Saracens* were always ſuperior. Thoſe *Greeks* which eſcap'd, retir'd to *Alexandria*, where they made the beſt Preparation they could for a Siege.

Amrou was not long after them, but quickly came up, and laid Siege to the City. However, the *Greeks* made a ſtout Reſiſtance, and ſallied out frequently, ſo that there was a great many killed on both ſides. The *Saracens* at laſt made a vigorous Attack upon one of the Towers, and enter'd it; the *Greeks* all the while defending it to their utmoſt. They fought a conſiderable time in the Tower, till the *Saracens* at laſt were preſs'd upon ſo hard, that they were forc'd to retire. In this Attempt, *Amrou* the General, *Muſlemah Ebno'l Mochalled*, and *Werdan*, *Amrou*'s Slave, were taken Priſoners. * Being brought before the Governour, he ask'd them what they meant by running about the Country after this manner, and diſturbing their Neighbours? *Amrou* anſwer'd according to the uſual Form, and told him, that they deſign'd to make them either Muſlemans or Tributaries

* *This ſame Story is told with ſome Variation of Circumſtances both by* Elmakîn *and* Alwákidí.

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butaries before they had done. But this reſolute Anſwer of his had like to have coſt him his Life; for the Governour having taken notice of his Behaviour, concluded that he was no ordinary Perſon, and ſpoke to ſome that ſtood near him to cut off his Head. *Werdan*, his Slave, underſtood *Greek*; and as ſoon as he heard what the Governour ſaid, took his Maſter *Amrou* by the Collar, and gave him a Box on the Ear; telling him, *That he was always putting himſelf forward, and prating, when 'twould better become him to hold his Tongue: That he was a mean contemptible Fellow, and that he would adviſe him to learn more Manners, and let his Betters ſpeak before him.* By this time, *Muſlemah Ebno'l Mochalled* had bethought himſelf, and told the Governour, *That their General had Thoughts of raiſing the Siege: That* Omar *the* Caliph *had wrote to him touching that Matter; and deſign'd to ſend an honourable Embaſſy, conſiſting of ſeveral worthy Perſons, and Men of Note, to treat with him about Matters; and if he pleas'd to let them go, they would acquaint their General how courteouſly they had been us'd, and employ the utmoſt of their Endeavours to promote an*

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an Accommodation. He added, *That he did not in the leaſt queſtion, but when the* Caliph's *Embaſſadors had treated with him, things would be made very eaſy on both Sides, and the Siege very ſpeedily raiſed.* Our Hiſtorian tells us, that this impolitick Governour obſerving how *Werdan* treated his Maſter, concluded him to have been as mean as *Werdan* repreſented him, and believ'd the Story that *Muſlemah* had told him, concerning *Omar*'s ſending ſome of the chief *Arabs* to treat with him. Wherefore, conſidering that it would be of greater Conſequence to kill ſix or ten conſiderable Men, than three or four of the vulgar; he diſmiſs'd theſe, in hopes of catching the other. They were no ſooner out of Danger, but they ſhouted out as loud as they could, *Allàh Acbar*: And when the *Greeks* upon the Wall perceiv'd thoſe great Tokens of Joy, which were ſhewn in the Camp upon their Return, they knew very well, that they were not ſuch Perſons as the Governour had taken them for, and too late repented their letting them go. Quickly after, the *Saracens* renew'd their Aſſault, and ſo ſtreightned the *Alexandrians*, that they were

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not able to hold out any longer. At laſt the City was taken, and the *Greeks* which were in it, were diſpers'd; ſome conſiderable Parties of them going up further into the Country, others getting off to Sea; ſo that the *Saracens* enter'd, and * took Poſſeſſion, after they had beſieg'd it fourteen Months, and loſt 23000 Men before it.

* Hegjrah 20. A. D. 640.

Amrou, to make all things ſecure, and prevent any Alarm or Diſturbance which might follow; thought it proper to purſue thoſe *Greeks*, which, eſcaping from the Siege of *Alexandria*, had gone further up into the Country; reaſonably concluding, that ſo long as there was any Body of them in Arms, the *Saracens* could not enjoy their new Poſſeſſions in Peace and Security. He therefore marches out of *Alexandria* upon this Deſign, leaving but a few of his *Saracens* behind him in the Town, as apprehending no Danger on that ſide. During his Abſence, the *Greeks* who had gone aboard their Ships at the taking the Town, and whoſe Return was not in the leaſt fear'd or ſuſpected; came on a ſudden, and ſurpriz'd the Town, and kill'd all the *Saracens* that were in it. This quickly came to

Am-

Amrou's Ear; upon which he return'd to *Alexandaia* with the greateſt Speed, where he found the Remnant of the *Greeks* which came back from Sea, already poſſeſs'd of the Caſtle. They gave him a warm Reception, and fought bravely: At laſt, being over-power'd, as many of them as could get fairly off, were oblig'd to retire to their Ships, and try their Fortune at Sea once more, leaving *Amrou* and his *Saracens* in full and quiet Poſſeſſion. This done, *Amrou* acquaints the *Caliph* with his Succeſs; letting him know withal, that the *Muſlemans* were deſirous of plundering the City. *Omar* having receiv'd his Letter, gave him Thanks for his Service; but blam'd him for ſo much as once mentioning the plundering of ſo rich a City; and charg'd him ſtrictly, that he ſhould by no means ſuffer the Soldiers to make any Waſte, or ſpoil any thing in it; but that he ſhould carefully treaſure up what was valuable, to help him to defray Charges in time of War: And that the Tribute which was rais'd in that Part of the Country ſhould be laid up at *Alexandria*, to ſupply the Neceſſities of the *Muſlemans*.

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Then they poll'd the Inhabitants of *Alexandria*; which being taken, all *Ægypt* follow'd the Fortune of its *Metropolis*, and the Inhabitants compounded for their Lives, Fortunes, and free Liberty of living in the Poſſeſſion of their own Religion, at the Expence of two Ducats a Year, without any Diſtinction; except any Man held any Land, Farm or Vineyard. For in ſuch Caſes, every one paid proportionably to the yearly Value of what he held. So that there aroſe a moſt prodigious Revenue to the *Caliph*. That after the *Saracens* were once arriv'd to this pitch, it is no wonder if they went further; for what would not ſuch a Revenue do in ſuch Hands? They knew very well how to husband their Money, being ſumptuous at that time in nothing but their Places of publick Worſhip. Their Diet was plain and ſimple: No Wine, nor any of thoſe Dainties, the Products of modern Luxury, which ſpoil the Stomach, and deſtroy Mens Conſtitutions, appear'd upon their Tables. Their chief Drink was Water; their Food conſiſted in a great meaſure in Milk, Rice, and the Fruits of the Earth.

The

Omar.

The *Arabians* had as yet apply'd themſelves to no manner of Learning, nor the Study of any thing but Poetry in their own Language, which they underſtood very well, after their way, and valu'd themſelves upon, long before *Mahomet*'s time, being altogether ignorant of the Sciences, and every Language but their own. *Amrou* however, tho no Scholar, was a Man of quick Parts, and a good Capacity, and one that, when his Affairs would give him leave, was more delighted with the Converſation of learned Men, and Rational and Philoſophical Diſcourſes, than Men of his Education commonly us'd to be. * There was at that time in *Alexandria*, one *John*, ſirnam'd, *The Grammarian*; a Man eminent for Learning; with whoſe Converſation *Amrou* was very well pleas'd, and would oftentimes take delight in hearing him diſcourſe in ſeveral Sciences, and ask him Queſtions. This Man perceiving the great Reſpect ſhown him by *Amrou*, ventur'd one Day to petition him for the Books in the *Alexandrian* Library; telling him, *That he perceiv'd he had taken an Account of all Things which he thought valuable in the City, and*

* Abu'lpharagius.

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ſeal'd up all the Repoſitories and Treaſuries, but had taken no notice of the Books. That, if they would have been any way uſeful to him, he would not have been ſo bold as to ask for them; but ſince they were not, he deſir'd he might have them. Amrou told him, *That he had deſir'd a thing which was altogether out of his Power to grant; and that he could by no means diſpoſe of the Books, without having firſt ask'd Leave of the* Caliph: *However,* he ſaid, *he'd write, and ſee what might be done in it.* This he accordingly perform'd, and having given a due Character of the Abilities of this learned Man, and acquainted him with his Petition; the *Caliph* return'd this Anſwer, *What is contained in theſe Books you mention, is either agreeable to what is written in the Book of God* (meaning the *Alcoran*) *or it is not: If it be, then the* Alcoran *is ſufficient without them: If otherwiſe, 'tis fit they ſhould be deſtroy'd. Amrou,* in Obedience to the *Caliph*'s Command, diſtributed the Books throughout all the City, amongſt thoſe that kept warm Baths, (of which there was at that time in *Alexandria* no fewer than four Thouſand) to heat the Baths with. And notwithſtanding the great Havock that

that muſt needs be made of 'em at this rate; the Number of Books which the Diligence of former Princes had collected was ſo great, that it was ſix Months before they were conſumed. A Loſs never to be made up to the learned World. This *John, the Grammarian*, was an *Alexandrian* by Birth, of the Sect of the *Jacobites*: Afterwards he deny'd the Trinity. Being admoniſh'd by the Biſhops of *Ægypt* to renounce his erroneous Opinions, he was, upon his Refuſal, excommunicated. Omar.

Amrou being now poſſeſs'd of *Ægypt*, began to look a little further towards the *Weſtern* part of *Africa*; and in a ſhort time made himſelf Maſter of all that Country which lies between *Barcah* and *Zeweilah*; the Inhabitants of *Barcah* bringing in the Tribute impos'd upon them punctually at the time prefix'd, without any Collectors going among them to gather it. While theſe Things were doing in *Ægypt*, there was a Dearth in *Arabia*; ſo that the Inhabitants of *Medinah* and the neighbouring Country were reduc'd to a ſtarving Condition. Upon which *Omar* wrote to *Amrou*, and acquainting him with

Omar. with their Extremity, order'd him to ſupply the *Arabs* with Corn out of *Ægypt*. Which *Amrou* did in ſuch Plenty, that the Train of Camels which were loaden with it, reach'd in a continu'd Line from *Ægypt* to *Medinah*; ſo that when the foremoſt of 'em were got to *Medinah*, the latter part of the Gang were ſtill in the Bounds of *Ægypt*. But this way of conveying their Proviſion being too tedious and chargeable, the *Caliph* commanded *Amrou* to dig a Paſſage from the *Nile* to the *Red Sea*, for the more ſpeedy and eaſy Conveyance of their Proviſion to the *Arabian* Shore. Shortly after *Amrou* took *Tripoli*: And if we ſhould conſider the Greatneſs of his Succeſs, it might ſeem wonderful, tho there had been nothing done in any other Part. But their victorious Arms made no leſs Progreſs *Eaſtward*, and the *Mahometan* Creſcent began now to ſhed its malignant Influence upon as large and conſiderable Dominions, as had ever been flown over by the *Roman* Eagle. * About this time, *Aderbijân*, *Ainwerdah*, *Harrân*, *Roha*, *Rakkah*, *Niſibin*, *Ehwâz*, *Siwâs*, and *Choráſan*, were all brought under Subjection to the *Saracens*;

* Hegjrah 21 A. D. 64½.

cens; in which Conqueſts there were, without doubt, a great many noble Actions perform'd, and well worth the relating; but the particular Hiſtory of that part of their Conqueſts not being yet come into my Hands, the Reader is deſir'd to excuſe me. Omar.

About two Years after, *Omar* the *Caliph* was kill'd. The Account we have of it is this: There was one *Phirouz*, a *Perſian*, of the Sect of the *Magi*, or *Perſees*; who having, as being of a different Religion from the *Muſlemans*, a Tribute of two Pieces of Silver impos'd upon him daily by his Maſter, made his Complaint to *Omar*, to have ſome part of it remitted. *Omar* told him, he did not think it at all unreaſonable, conſidering he might well afford it out of what he earn'd. *Phirouz* was ſo provok'd with this Anſwer, that he did as good as threaten the *Caliph* to his Face; but he took little notice of it. Not long after, he waited his Opportunity; and whilſt *Omar* was ſaying the Morning Prayer in the Moſque, he ſtabb'd him thrice in the Belly with a Dagger. * The *Saracens* in the Moſque immediately ruſhing upon him, he made a deſperate Defence, and

* Ahmed Ebn Mohammed Ebn Abdi Rabbihi. M S. Arab. Huntington Num. 554.

Omar. and ſtabb'd 13 of them, of which 7 dy'd. At laſt, one that ſtood by, threw his Veſt over him, and ſeiz'd him: He perceiving himſelf caught, ſtabb'd himſelf. *Omar* lived three Days after it, and then died, in the Month *Du'lhagjah*, in the twenty third Year of the *Hegjrah*; (which Year began on the eighteenth Day of *November*, in the Year of our A. D. 643. Lord 643.) after he had reign'd ten Years, ſix Months, and eight Days, and was 63 Years old; which is the ſame Age, at which, according to †*Hiſtory of the Holy Land, MS. Arab. Poc. Num. 362.* † ſome Authors, *Mahomet*, *Abubeker*, and *Ayeſha*, *Mahomet*'s Wife died.

He was of a dark Complexion, very tall, and had a bald Head. As to his Behaviour in the Government, the *Arabick* Authors give him an extraordinary Character. His Abſtinence from the Things of this Life, Piety and Gravity of Behaviour, procur'd him more Reverence, than his Succeſſors could command by their Grandeur. His walk-
Alwákidi. ing-Stick (ſays *Alwákidi*) ſtruck more Terror into thoſe that were preſent, than another Man's Sword. His Diet was Barley-bread; his Sauſe, Salt; and oftentimes by way of Abſtinence and Mortification, he eat his Bread with-

without Salt. His Drink was Water. He was a conſtant Obſerver of religious Duties; and in thoſe ten Years he reign'd, went nine times on Pilgrimage to *Medinah*. His Adminiſtration of *Juſtice* was very impartial, his Ears being always open to the Complaints of the Meaneſt; nor could the Greatneſs of any Offender exempt him from Puniſhment. In his Deciſions he always kept punctually to the Senſe of the *Alcoran*, and the Traditions of *Mahomet*; in whoſe Time he gave a ſignal Proof of the Senſe he had of the Duty of Inferiors to their Governours, which was occaſion'd thus. Omar.

* An obſtinate Muſleman had a Suit at Law with a *Jew* before *Mahomet* The *Jew* being in the right, *Mahomet* pronounc'd Sentence againſt the *Muſleman*; who ſaid, *That he would not be ſo ſatisfy'd, unleſs* Omar, *who was then only a private Man, had the rehearſing and examining the Cauſe.* The Plaintiff and Defendant went both together to *Omar*; whom they found at his own Door, and opening their Caſe, and acquainting him with the Deciſion of it, deſir'd him to examine it again. *Omar* going into his own Houſe, bad 'em ſtay

* D' Herbelot Bibliotheque Orientale.

Omar. ſtay a Moment, and told them he would diſpatch their Buſineſs in a trice. Coming back, he brings his Cymiter along with him, and at one ſingle Stroke cuts off the *Muſleman's* Head, that refus'd to be determin'd by *Mahomet*'s Deciſion; ſaying, with a loud Voice, *See what they deſerve, who will not acquieſce in the Determination of their Judges.* It was upon this Occaſion, that *Mahomet*, inform'd of the Fact, gave him the Title or Sirname of *Farouk*; intimating, that *Omar* knew as well how to diſtinguiſh Truth from Falſhood, and Juſtice from Injuſtice, as he did to ſeparate the Head of that Knave from his Body.

The Conqueſts gain'd by the *Saracens* in his Reign were ſo conſiderable, that tho they had never been extended any further, the Countries they had ſubdu'd would have made a very formidable Empire. He drove all the *Jews* and *Chriſtians* out of *Arabia*; ſubdu'd *Syria*, *Ægypt*, and other Territories in *Africa*; beſides the greateſt part of *Perſia*. And yet all this Greatneſs, which would have been too weighty for an ordinary Man to have born, eſpecially if we conſider, that it did not deſcend to 'em as an hereditary

Poſ-

Omar.

Poſſeſſion, for the ruling of which they had been prepar'd by a ſuitable Education, but was gotten all on a ſudden by Men that had been acquainted with nothing Great before, had no Effect upon the *Caliph*; but he ſtill retain'd his old Way of Living: Nor did the Increaſe of his Riches ever appear by his Retinue or Expences. He built a Wall about *Cuſa*, and repaired, or rebuilt rather, the Temples of *Jeruſalem* and *Medinah*. He was the firſt of the *Saracens*, that made Rolls to enter the Names of all that were in military Service, or that receiv'd any Stipend from the Publick. He firſt made uſe of the Date of the *Hegjrah*; concerning which the Reader may ſee more in the * *Life of* Mahomet, which I ſhall not here tranſcribe. He was the firſt of 'em that forbad that any Woman, who had ever born a Child, ſhould be ſold for a Slave. The Author of the *Hiſtory of* Jeruſalem, above mention'd, adds, *That if he had nothing elſe to recommend him beſides his Taking* Jeruſalem, *and purging it from Idolatry, even that had been ſufficient.*

* *Dr.* Prideaux's *Life of* Mahomet, *Pag.* 76.

He

Omar.

He never us'd to ſave any Mony in the Treaſury, but divided it every *Friday* at Night amongſt his Men, according to their ſeveral Neceſſities. In which Particular, his Practice was preferable to *Abubeker*'s; for *Abubeker* us'd to proportion his Dividends to the Merit of the Perſons that were to receive it; but *Omar* had regard only to their Neceſſities; ſaying, *That the Things of this World were given us by God for the Relief of our Neceſſities, and not for the Reward of Vertue; becauſe the proper Reward of that belong'd to another World.*

OTHMAN

Othman Ebn Affan, Third *Caliph* after *Mahomet*.

Othman.

In the Space of those three Days which *Omar* liv'd, after he had received his mortal Wound, his Friends came about him, soliciting him to make his Will, and name a Successor. To which he answer'd, That if *Salem* were alive, he should approve of none so well as him. Then they nam'd several to him, but he still found some Fault or other with all they propos'd. Some recommended *Ali*, upon the Account of his near Relation to *Mahomet*; besides his Valour and other Qualifications: But *Omar* did not think him serious enough for such a weighty Charge. Then *Othman Ebn Affân* being nam'd, *Omar* rejected him, as a Person too much enclin'd to favour his own Friends and Relations. When

Hegjrah 23. *Which Year beginning on the* 18*th of* November, *in the Year of our Lord* 643. *The greatest part of it answers to the Year* 644.

Othman.

they perceiv'd that it was impoſſible for 'em to pitch upon any Perſon, againſt whom he would not make an Exception; they had good Reaſon to think, that this proceeded from a Deſire that his Son ſhould ſucceed him. But his Son being mention'd to him, he anſwer'd, *That it was enough for one in a Family, to have an Account to give of ſo weighty a Charge, as the Governing the Muſlemans was.* At laſt, when they could not perſwade him to name a Succeſſor, he appointed ſix Perſons, to whom he allow'd three Days time to conſult about the Matter, after his Deceaſe. He order'd his Son to be preſent whilſt they debated, but gave him no Liberty of Voting. The Six Commiſſioners were *Othman*, *Ali*, *Telhha*, *Azzobeir*, * *Abdo'rrahmân Ebn Auf*, and *Saed Ebn Abi Wakkâs*; All which had been the familiar Acquaintance and Companions of *Mahomet*. *Omar* being dead, they met to conſult; and *Abdo'rrahmân* ſaid, *That for his part he would willingly lay aſide all Pretenſions to it, provided they would agree to chuſe one of thoſe that*

* Abu'lpharagius, *inſtead of this* Abdo'rrahman *puts in* Abu Obeidah; *but I have choſen rather to follow* Eutychius *and* Elmakin; *becauſe there are more Authors than one, who ſay poſitively that* Abu Obeidah *died of the Plague in* Syria, *in the* 18th *Year of the* Hegjrah.

Othman.

that were preſent. All of them conſented to it but *Ali*, who thought himſelf injur'd, becauſe he was not the immediate Succeſſor of *Mahomet*. At laſt he conſented too, after *Abdo'rrahmân* had ſworn to him, that he would neither vote for, nor favour any Man whatſoever that ſhould offer himſelf. *Abdo'rrahmân*, upon this, adviſes with the reſt, who inclining to *Othman Ebn Affân*, he was choſen *Caliph*, and inaugurated * three Days after *Omar*'s Death. *Abu'lpharagius* ſays, that *Abu Obeidah* (whom he puts in the Room of *Abdo'rrahmân*) came to *Ali*, and ask'd him, *If he would take the Government upon him, upon Condition that he ſhould be obliged to adminiſter according to what was contain'd in the* Book of God, *The* Tradition *of his* Prophet, *and the Determination of two* Seniors. *Ali* anſwer'd, *That as for the* Book of God, *and the* Tradition *of his* Prophet, *he was contented; but he would not be oblig'd to be determin'd by the Conſtitutions of the Seniors.* The ſame Terms being offer'd to *Othman*, he embrac'd them without any Exception,

* *There is ſome Variety in the Accounts of the time of* Othman's *Inauguration. Some ſay there was but one Day left of the laſt Month of the* 23*d Year of the* Hegjrah. *Others ſay it was on the twentieth Day of the firſt Month* (Moharram) *of the twenty fourth Year.*

Othman. tion, and was immediately choſen *Caliph*.

Being eſtabliſh'd in the Government, he follows the Example of his Predeceſſors, and ſends his Forces abroad, to enlarge his Dominions. In a ſhort time *Maho'l Baſora*, and what remain'd of the Borders of *Iſphahân* and *Raya* was taken; ſo that the poor *Perſian* King was now eaten up on all Sides, and had very little left him. The ſame Year that *Othman* was made *Caliph*, *Birah* and *Hamden* were taken, and *Moawiyah*, who was then Prefect of *Syria*, and afterwards *Caliph*, invaded the Territories of the *Grecian* Emperor, took a great many Towns, and waſted the Country.

We have obſerv'd before, that *Othman* was taken notice of, for being too much inclin'd to favour his Friends; Upon which Account *Omar* judg'd him unworthy to ſucceed him: Which Inclination now appear'd plainly, when he had got the Government into his Hands, and was in a Capacity of obliging them. For notwithſtanding *Amrou Ebno'l Aâs* had done the *Saracens* ſuch ſingular Service, and added *Ægypt* to their Empire, yet *Othman* * depos'd him, and took away his Præfecture,

* A. H. 25. Octob. 27. A. D. 645.

or

Othman.

or Lieutenancy of *Ægypt*, from him, without any just Reason at all that ever I could learn; but only because he had a mind to prefer *Abdo'llah Ebn Saïd*, his Foster-Brother, to a Place of such Dignity and Profit: Than which, there could scarce be a greater Imprudence; for *Amrou*, having been a considerable time in *Ægypt*, had made both the Persons and the Customs of the *Ægyptians* familiar to him, and was very well belov'd by 'em: Upon which Account, and his admirable Skill in military Affairs, he was, without doubt, the fittest Man for such a Charge, that the *Saracens* had. However, the Order of the *Caliph* must be obey'd; but it was not attended with very good Success. For *Constantine*, the *Grecian* Emperor, sent one *Manuel*, an Eunuch, with an Army, to retake *Alexandria*; which was accordingly perform'd by the Assistance of the *Greeks* in the City; who keeping secret Correspondence with the Emperor's Army, then at Sea, receiv'd them at their landing; and *Alexandria*, which *Amrou* had taken four Years before, was now once more in the Hands of the *Grecian* Emperor. And now it was evi-

Othman.

dently ſeen of what Uſe *Amrou* was in *Ægypt*. He was immediately reſtor'd to his former Dignity; for the *Ægyptians*, conſcious to themſelves of dealing treacherouſly with the Emperor, fearing, leſt falling into the Hands of the *Grecians*, they ſhould be puniſh'd according to their Deſerts, humbly petition'd the *Caliph*, that they might have their old General *Amrou* reſtor'd, both upon the account of his being well acquainted with the State of that Kingdom, and his Experience in War. This was no ſooner ask'd, than granted; the Exigency of Affairs indiſpenſably requiring it. *Amrou* being now in full Power, goes againſt *Alexandria* with his Army, in which were a great many *Cophties*, and among 'em the Traitor *Mokaukas*, whoſe Buſineſs 'twas to provide things neceſſary for the Army in their March. *Amrou* being come before *Alexandria*, found the *Greeks* in a good Poſture of Defence. They gave him Battle ſeveral Days together, and held out bravely. The Obſtinacy of their Defence provok'd him ſo, that he ſwore, *If God gave him the Victory, he would pull down the Walls of the Town, and make it as eaſy of Acceſs as a Bawdy-houſe.*

Othman.

houſe. He was as good as his Word; for when he had taken the Town, which was not long after, he demoliſh'd all the Walls and Fortifications, and diſmantled it quite. However, he dealt very mercifully with the Inhabitants, and ſav'd as many of their Lives as he could. And built a *Moſque* in that very Place, where he ſtay'd the Fury of the *Saracens*, who were killing all they met; which *Moſque* was upon that Account call'd, * *The Moſque of Mercy*. *Manuel*, the *Grecian* Emperor's General, being quite routed, retir'd, with ſo many of his Men as he could carry off, to the Sea-ſhore: where weighing Anchor with all poſſible ſpeed, they hoiſted Sail, and return'd to *Conſtantinople*. From that time, that moſt flouriſhing City, once the *Metropolis* of *Ægypt*, dwindl'd away and declin'd a-pace; ſo that there is little belonging to it that is worth taking notice of, only a good Haven, and ſome Merchants Store-houſes.

* Arab. Jámi'orráhhmati.

† About this time, *Moawiyah* invaded *Cyprus*, and agreed with the Inhabitants upon this Condition, That he ſhould ſhare the Revenues of that Iſland with the *Grecian* Emperor.

† Hegjrah 27. Octob. 6. A. D. 647.

Othman. So that the *Cyprians* were oblig'd to pay ſeven thouſand and two hundred Ducats every Year to *Moawiyah*, and the like Sum to the Emperor. The *Mahometans* enjoy'd this Tribute near two Years, and were then diſpoſſeſs'd by the Chriſtians.

The ſame Year that *Moawiyah* agreed with the *Cyprians*, *Othman* ſent *Abdo'llah Ebn Amir* and *Saïd Ebno'l Aâs* to invade *Chorâſan*; and, to encourage their Diligence, told 'em, *That which of them ſoever got thither firſt, ſhould have the Prefecture of that Territory.* They took a great many ſtrong Places, and ſo ſtreighten'd *Yazdejerd*, the *Perſian* King, that he was now ſo far from being able to meet the *Saracens* in open Field, that he was forc'd to ſhift about every way to ſave himſelf. And leſt any Misfortune ſhould be wanting to compleat his Ruin, he was at laſt betray'd by a treacherous Servant; an Unhappineſs which frequently happens to Princes in Diſtreſs: For thoſe who have any private Pique againſt them, take the Opportunity offer'd by their Misfortunes of being reveng'd: Others, hoping to ingratiate themſelves with the conquering Party, ſtick to do nothing

thing that will oblige them, tho to the utter Ruin of their former Maſters. Othman.

For *Yazdejerd*, diſtreſs'd on every Side, call'd in *Tarchân*, the *Turk*, to his Aſſiſtance, who came accordingly with an Army. But their Stay was ſhort for *Yazdejerd*, upon a frivolous Account, affronted *Tarchân*, and ſent him back again: Imprudently done in thoſe deſperate Circumſtances. He had acted a much wiſer Part, in putting up a great many little Affronts, rather than ſend away thoſe Allies, which he could not ſubſiſt without. *Mahwa*, a Perſon of Note, who had a ſpite againſt his Maſter *Yazdejerd*, takes the Advantage of the *Turk's* Indignation, who highly reſented the Affront, and ſends to *Tarchân*, telling him, *That if he would come back and revenge the Affront, he would not be wanting to his Aſſiſtance.* Upon this *Tarchân* returns; *Yazdejerd* meets him with the beſt Preparation he could make; but was beaten. In his Flight, the Traytor *Mahwa* ſets upon him, and quite deſtroys and diſperſes the ſhatter'd Remains of his Army which had eſcap'd. *Yazdejerd* got off himſelf, and coming to a Mill, proffer'd the Miller his Belt, his

Othman. his Bracelets, and his Ring: But this churliſh Brute, not conſidering the Worth of the Things which were offer'd him, much leſs the Compaſſion which Humanity obliges us to ſhow to all in Diſtreſs, eſpecially our Princes, told him, *That he earned four Pieces of Silver with his Mill every Day, and if he would give him ſo much Money, he would let it ſtand ſtill upon his Account: If not, he would not.* Whilſt they were debating this Matter, a Party of Horſe, which were in ſearch of him, happen'd to come to this Place, where they found him, and kill'd him. He was the laſt King of the *Perſians*; and at the Beginning of his Reign, the *Perſian Æra*, or Date, which they uſe to this Day, begins; which is from him call'd *Yazdejerdica.* Thus the *Perſian* Government was entirely deſtroy'd, and all the Territories belonging to it fell into the Hands of the *Caliph*'s in the Thirty firſt Year of the *Hegjrah*, which began on the Twenty third Day of *Auguſt*, in the Year of our Lord 651.

Hegjrah 31. Aug. 23. A. D. 651.

OTHMAN, tho a religious Man in his Way, and of a good Diſpoſition,

Othman.

on, was nevertheleſs very unfit for Government; for he did a great many very impolitick Things, which alienated the Minds of his Subjects from him, and gave Occaſion to his Enemies both to open their Mouths and take up Arms againſt him. The firſt that we hear of, who began to make a Stir, and talk publickly againſt the *Caliph*, was one *Abúdar Alacâdi*, who, in the 31ſt Year of the *Hegjrah*, openly rail'd on him, and made it his Buſineſs to defame him. *Othman* took no other notice of it, than only to forbid him coming into his Preſence. Upon this, *Abuda* goes into *Syria*, where he continu'd detracting from the *Caliph*, and aggravating every Thing that might be objected againſt him. *Moawiyah*, at that time Lieutenant of *Syria*, wrote to *Othman*; who thereupon ſent for *Abúdar* to *Medinah*, * and put him

* Arab. Faráddaho'l Muréidah. *The Difficulty lies in the word* Muréidah: Erpenius *in his Tranſlation of* Elmakîn *makes a Proper Name of it; and ſo it muſt be read thus*; And ſent him to *Almureidah. But I very much doubt it; for I find no ſuch Place in the Dominions of the* Saracens. *I rather chuſe to read it,* Mérbadah *from* Rábada, *which ſignifies,* to bind; *or* reſtrain; *from whence* Mérbadah *will ſignify the Place of Reſtraint*; i.e. *a Priſon. This ſeems to me to be moſt agreeable to the Senſe of the Author, and I take the Liberty to recede from the common Reading, the rather becauſe* Erpenius *follow'd a very faulty Copy.*

into

Othman. into Priſon; in which he continu'd till his Death, which was but the Year after.

But this was only the Beginning of Troubles to the *Caliph*; for the *Saracens* grew every Day worſe than other. Factious and uneaſy Spirits, when once they begin to diſturb any Government, never reſt till they be either entirely cruſh'd themſelves, or elſe obtain their Ends. The Murmuring encreas'd daily, and almoſt every Province in the Empire had ſomething or other to complain of, peculiar to it ſelf, beſides thoſe Grievances which were common to them all; ſo that in the * five and thirtieth Year of the *Hegjrah*, all Things were in a Flame. Every Man's Mouth was full of grievous Accuſations againſt the *Caliph*, and Complaints of his Male-Adminiſtration. Thoſe Things which they principally laid to his Charge, were; "That he had recall'd *Hhakem* "*Ebno'l Aâs* to *Medinah*, who had been "baniſh'd by the Prophet, and had "not been recall'd by either of his "Predeceſſors, *Abubeker* or *Omar*. That "he remov'd *Saïd Ebn Abi Wakkâs* "one of thoſe ſix to whom *Omar* had "com-

* Hegjrah 35. *July* 10. 655.

Othman.

" committed the Election of a *Caliph* " from his Prefecture, and put in ano- " ther Man of ſcandalous Converſati- " on, a Drinker of Wine, and notori- " ous for other Debaucheries. That " he had been too laviſh of the Publick " Treaſure to his Friends, and had gi- " ven *Abdo'llah* 400000 Ducats and " *Hhakem* 100000. That he had re- " mov'd *Amrou Ebno'l Aâs* from the " Lieutenancy of *Ægypt*, and put *Saïd* " *Ebn Abi Sharehh* into his Place. This *Saïd* had been one of thoſe that had help'd to write the *Alcoran*, and after- wards apoſtatiz'd and left the Profeſſion of *Mahometaniſm:* Whereupon *Maho- met* reſolv'd to kill him when he took *Meccah*, which was in the eighth Year of the *Hegjrah*; but at *Othman*'s Intrea- ty, ſpar'd his Life, and was content to baniſh him. " That when he was " firſt made *Caliph*, he preſum'd to ſit " upon the uppermoſt part of the *Sug-* " *geſtum* or Pulpit, where *Mahomet* " himſelf us'd to ſit; whereas *Abube-* " *ker* always ſat one Step lower, and " *Omar* two. Theſe and a great ma- ny other things made the People mur- mur at him. At laſt, in a publick Aſ- ſembly, he told them from the Pulpit,

" That

Othman. " That the Money which was in the " Treaſury was ſacred, and belong'd " to God; and that he [as being the " Succeſſor of the Prophet] would " diſpoſe of it to whomſoever he " thought fit, in ſpight of them; and " threaten'd and curs'd whoſoever " ſhould ſhow any Diſlike of what he " had ſaid. *Ammâr Ebn Yaſer* declar'd that he diſlik'd it. Upon which *Othman* commanded him to be beaten, and immediately ſome that ſtood by, fell upon him, and beat him till he ſwoon'd. This ſort of Treatment ſo incens'd the *Arabs*, that they gather'd together, took Arms, and encamp'd within a League of *Medinah*. From their Camp they ſent an inſolent Meſſage to the *Caliph*, demanding of him, either to do that which was right and juſt, (*i. e.* what they thought ſo) or elſe reſign the Government. The poor *Caliph* would now have done any thing with all his Heart, to have been at quiet. But this is obſervable, that the Riſings of ſeditious Subjects are not to be laid by complying with their Demands, for the more is granted by the Prince in ſuch Circumſtances, the more they crave. He goes into the Pulpit which

was

Othman.

was in the *Moſque* at *Medinah*, and there ſolemnly before the whole Congregation, calls God to witneſs, that he was heartily ſorry for what was paſt, and that he repented. But all to no purpoſe; for by this time all the Provinces were in an uproar, and the Strength of the Rebels encreas'd daily. There were few Provinces but what ſent ſome conſiderable Men, who met together at *Medinah*, to depoſe *Othman*: *Malec Alaſhtan* brought 200 Men with him from *Cuſa*; there came 150 from *Baſora*; 600 from *Ægypt*, all upon this Occaſion. The *Caliph* being now in great Perplexity, ſent *Mogeirah Ebn Shabah*, and *Amrou Ebno'l Aâs*, to treat with the Malecontents, and endeavour to perſwade them to be determin'd by the *Alcoran* and the *Sunnèt*; that is, the Traditions of *Mahomet*; but they had very little Thanks for their Pains, for the Rebels us'd them ſcurvily. Then he ſent *Ali* to them, (who ever ſince the Death of *Mahomet* had expected to be *Caliph*, and had a very conſiderable Party) him they receiv'd with more Reverence, and he bound himſelf to ſee that all that *Othman* promis'd them ſhould be perform'd; and to make 'em

the

Othman. the more eaſy, *Othman* and *Ali* ſet both their Hands to a Paper, in which they promis'd to remove the Cauſes of their Grievances. Then the *Ægyptians* demanded to have *Abdo'llah Ebn Saïd* remov'd from the Lieutenancy of *Ægypt*, and *Mohammed*, the Son of *Abubeker*, put in his Room: Which *Othman* readily comply'd with, and ſign'd his Commiſſion. This Condeſcention of the *Caliph*, ſeemingly ſatisfy'd them pretty well; ſo that the Parties were diſſolv'd, and every Man return'd to his own Country. The Storm ſeem'd to be blown over, and any Man would have thought that the *Caliph* had no reaſon to doubt of going to the Grave in Peace. But what will not Treachery do? There was nothing omitted by the *Caliph*'s Enemies, which might foment theſe Prejudices in the People, that they had already conceiv'd againſt him. *Ayeſha*, *Mahomet*'s Widow, was his mortal Enemy. Certainly it would much better have become one that pretended to have been the Wife of an inſpir'd Prophet, to have ſpent the Days of her Widow-hood in Devotion and good Works, rather than in doing Miſchief, and embroiling the State.

But

Othman.

But ſhe was ſo prejudic'd in Favour of *Telha* the Son of *Zobeir*, whom ſhe would fain have rais'd to the Dignity of *Caliph*, that no Conſideration of Goodneſs or Decency could hinder her from deſigning the Death of *Othman*. Another of his greateſt Enemies was *Mahomet*, *Abubeker*'s Son, the ſame whom the *Ægyptians* had deſir'd for their Prefect. But none did him more harm than *Merwân Ebno'l Hhakem*, his Secretary, who may juſtly be look'd upon as the principal Cauſe of his Ruine, which was occaſion'd thus.

As the *Ægyptians* which were gather'd together to depoſe *Othman*, were upon their Journey homewards from *Medinah*, with *Mahomet*, the Son of *Abubeker*, their new Lieutenant; they met with a Meſſenger carrying Letters from the *Caliph* to *Abdo'llah Ebn Saïd*, at that time Lieutenant of *Ægypt*. Him upon Examination they detain'd and open'd his Letters: In which they found Orders given to *Abdo'llah* to this Effect. "As ſoon as *Mahomet*, the "Son of *Abubeker*, and *N.* and *N. &c.* "ſhall arrive in *Ægypt*, cut off their "Hands and Feet, and impale them. This Letter had *Othman*'s Seal and

Othman.

Superſcription; the whole Buſineſs being manag'd by the Villainy of the Secretary *Merwân*, who contriv'd this Letter himſelf, (as he had done many others to the Caliph's great Diſadvantage) and order'd it ſo as it might fall into the Hands of the *Ægyptians*, on purpoſe to re-inflame the Difference which had, by the Care of *Ali*, and the Condeſcention of the *Caliph*, been in a great meaſure compos'd. 'Tis no hard matter to gueſs how *Mahomet*, *Abubeker*'s Son, and the *Ægyptians* that were with him, were affected with this Letter. They were ſtark mad; and no ill Language, no Revenge, was thought ſufficient for him, that deſign'd ſuch Cruelty to them. They immediately haſten back to *Medinah*, making large Speeches all the way, of the Treachery and Perfidiouſneſs of the Caliph, and how narrowly and accidentally they had eſcap'd ſo imminent a Danger. Such Stories as this ſeldom loſe any thing in the telling, eſpecially conſidering that the Wound was but juſt skinn'd over, and not heal'd; there being, beſides the Faction at Court, a great many diſaffected Perſons, who

who ſpar'd not to ſay the worſt of the *Caliph*. The News of the *Ægyptians* returning, flies immediately all over the Country; and how, if they had not accidentally intercepted *Othman*'s Letter to *Abdo'llah*, they muſt have ſuffer'd the utmoſt Cruelty. Upon this, all People unanimouſly deteſted the Perſon of the Caliph: And thoſe who had come before from *Cuſa* and *Baſora*, and had return'd upon the Accommodation that was made, were ſcarce got home, before alarm'd with this News, they came back again to aſſiſt the *Ægyptians* in the depoſing *Othman*. This Letter, they thought, excus'd whatſoever they did, and thoſe who did not believe that the *Caliph* wrote it, could make Uſe of that Pretence to vilify him, in order to gain their End. At laſt, they beſieg'd him in his own Houſe; He, in the mean time, proffering all manner of Satisfaction that could reaſonably be demanded, and declaring his Repentance for what he had done amiſs. But all in vain; they were reſolv'd to be reveng'd on him; Othman.

Othman. who indeed had never intended them any Injury. When he perceived himſelf ſtreighten'd, he ſent to his Couſin *Ali*, and ask'd him; "If "he had a Deſire to ſee his Cou- "ſin murther'd, and his own King- "dom rent in Pieces? *Ali* anſwer- ed, *By no means*: And upon this ſent his two Sons, *Haſan* and *Hoſein*, to defend him, and keep the Gate, that he might not ſuffer any Violence. I am verily perſwaded, that *Ali* did not mean any Harm to the Caliph; but, whether it was becauſe he had a Proſpect of ſucceeding him, and upon that account was loath to diſo- blige the Muſlemans; who, he per- ceiv'd, were altogether ſet againſt *Othman*, or for what other Reaſon, It is plain, that he did not aſſiſt him with that Vigour and Earneſtneſs which might otherwiſe have been expected. 'Tis true, he ſent *Haſan* and *Hoſein*; but they, when the Be- ſiegers had ſtreighten'd the *Caliph* for want of Water, left him to their Mercy. Then *Mahomet*, *Abubeker*'s Son, and *Ammâr Ebn Yaſer*, with ſeve- ral others, enter'd the Houſe, where they

they found the *Caliph* with the *Alcoran* in his Lap. They immediately fell upon him, and one of them wounded him in the Throat with a Dart: A ſecond ſtabb'd him with his Sword. As ſoon as he fell, another ſat upon his Breaſt, and wounded him in nine Places. * Thus died *Othman*, the Third after *Mahomet*, when he was eighty two Years old, of which he had reigned near twelve. Authors differ concerning the time of his being beſieg'd in his Houſe; but it ſeems to have been about ſix Weeks. He lay unbury'd for three Days; at laſt he was remov'd, (by whoſe Order I find not) bloody as he was, and bury'd in the ſame Cloaths he was kill'd in, without ſo much as being waſh'd, or the leaſt Funeral Solemnity. A remarkable Inſtance of the Vanity of Human Greatneſs, and the Uncertainty of all worldly Felicity.

Othman.

* Hegjrah 35. *July* 10. 655.

As to his Perſon, he was very tall, of a good Countenance, dark Complexion, and a large Beard. His way of living was commendable enough for a *Saracen*. He was very conſtant and diligent in performing religious Exerciſes;

Othman. ciſes; frequent in reading and meditating the *Alcoran*, and faſted very often. His Charity was very extenſive, his Riches very great. Tho he was very hardly us'd, yet it muſt not be deny'd, that he had given ſome Occaſions for the People to think ill of him; which a politick Governour would have avoided: For he was ſo much enclin'd to prefer his own Family and Friends, that he ſcarce ever conſider'd their Merit. From whence this Inconvenience muſt neceſſarily follow, that a great many Men would at this rate be put into Places of the greateſt Truſt, which were no way qualify'd for the Diſcharge of their Duty; and if they did any thing amiſs, the *Caliph* who prefer'd them, was ſure to bear a great ſhare in the Reflections which were made. Beſides, through the Treachery of that Villain *Merwân*, his Secretary, a great many ill things were laid to his Charge; which he had no hand in. For it was a common thing with him to ſet *Othman*'s Seal to Letters which oftentimes contain'd very ſcandalous Commands to Governours of Provinces;

ces; by which means the People were kept in an Averſion to him; and theſe Diſturbances being conſtantly fomented by his Enemies, they never ceas'd, till at laſt they deprived him both of Government and Life. Othman.

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FINIS.

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BRITAN
NICVM